



Daily Report

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Details of Missile Destruction in Central Asia
LD211922 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Alma-Ata March 21 TASS—Today the command of the Central Asian Military District organized a press conference where journalists, writers and representatives of other creative unions were invited. The press conference was addressed by Major General G.I. Chuchkalov, member of the Military Council and head of the district's political administration. After mentioning that railway trains with theatre of operation missiles withdrawn from standby alert in the GDR and Czechoslovakia arrived in the Saryozek station, he described in detail technology of the coming elimination of these missiles after the INF Treaty is ratified.

Only carrier rockets and launching containers will be liquidated in the area of Saryozek. As for nuclear charges, they were not brought here and are to be utilized under the treaty. After carrier rockets are eliminated, the remains will be collected and dispatched for remelting.

The remainder of missile systems is planned to be used in the national economy. For instance, powerful tow-trucks will be used as cross-country vehicles, lifting cranes and other machines. U.S. experts (as well as Soviet experts in the United States) will observe strict compliance with the conditions of missile elimination.

Akhromeyev Assesses NATO Summit Statement
PM211425 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
20 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces: "What Lies Behind NATO's Brussels Statement"]

[Text] Today's world is becoming increasingly convinced that military confrontation and an arms race are impermissible. A new political thinking is gathering strength, making it possible to conduct a sober analysis of the military-political situation in the world and to elaborate a responsible and effective policy in line with the interests of all peoples in the world. It is precisely this approach toward international affairs that is demonstrated by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies.

The signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was a convincing result of this policy. The historic importance of this document lies not only in the fact that an accord has been reached on destroying two classes of nuclear weapons. The treaty paves the way for further real disarmament. The U.S. Senate is now debating the question of ratifying the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles treaty, which is advocated by increasingly broad and influential circles in the West. This document is also

being examined in the USSR Supreme Soviet. There are reasons to believe that the ratification process in both countries will be successfully concluded in the not too distant future.

Once this first step along the path of arms reduction has been taken, there will be real prospects for further substantial accords in this direction. The elaboration of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms and of an agreement on nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty is proceeding—not without difficulties, but proceeding nevertheless—at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva. Many participants in the Disarmament Conference are seeking the conclusion of a convention to fully ban chemical weapons and to eliminate stockpiles and capacities for their production. Another round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on ending nuclear tests has begun. Finally, there are opportunities to embark in the near future on talks about the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The elaboration of the mandate of these talks at the Vienna consultations among 23 states has now entered the decisive stage. All this, along with other circumstances, makes it possible to assert that arms reduction is neither a dream nor utopia. It is already becoming a fact of real life. The easing of tension in the international arena is becoming increasingly tangible and, as a result of constant intensive efforts, confrontation is gradually yielding to greater mutual understanding and trust between states.

This development of events enjoys approval and support from the broad public and representatives of most diverse political circles also in the West. The leaders of North Atlantic alliance countries who assembled in Brussels for an extraordinary session of the NATO Council in early March could not fail to take this into account. Despite numerous old dogmas and stereotypes, the participants declared their desire to "seek improved and more stable relations with the Soviet Union and the other East European countries."

But influential circles in the West—and it would be incorrect to ignore this—are frightened by the prospects of further easing of international tension and real disarmament. They voice doubts with increasing frequency: Should there be further progress along this path? Will the desire for disarmament not become so strong that it will become altogether impossible to halt it?

In these conditions reactionary circles are placing barriers in the way of the easing of international tension and real disarmament. This directly influenced the results of the NATO Council's session in Brussels and was officially expressed in the 2 March 1988 statement on conventional arms by the heads of state and government of the bloc's countries, which clarifies the Western countries' stance on this issue.

"Conventional Arms Control: The Way Ahead" is the title given to this statement by the leaders who adopted it. But what lies behind this "program" and the results of the Brussels meeting? As M.S. Gorbachev said in his 16 March speech to the SFRY Federal Assembly, the impression is a dual one.

Slightly less than 2 years ago (in June 1986), the Warsaw Pact states put forward in Budapest a specific plan for reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. It precisely formulated the objectives, subject, reduction stages, and verification measures. It would have been logical to expect that the leaders of NATO bloc states would have finally presented their detailed concept on this issue in the Brussels document. But these hopes were not justified. In actual fact, the authors of the statement seem to forget about the hopes and strivings of people—including those in NATO countries themselves—for disarmament and peace.

Let us turn to the text of the actual document. It opens with a promising statement: "We seek to ensure security and stability in Europe at the lowest possible level of armaments." This sounds fine. But these are merely words. You can clearly perceive what lies behind them when you see how the leadership of the Western countries intends to try to attain its proclaimed goal.

The document makes it clear that the leaders of the North Atlantic bloc perceive the threat to Europe's security as emanating from the so-called military superiority of the USSR, which is classed among "potential aggressors." It is claimed that the Warsaw Pact Organization "creates a direct threat to the security" of the West since it is supposedly superior to NATO in key conventional weapon systems and, by relying on forces deployed in forward positions, "has a capability for surprise attack."

To bolster these "theses," the statement contains quite a few "arguments." For instance, in order to adduce "proof," they have resorted to geostrategic factors, using primarily the fact that Warsaw Pact countries border one another and form "a single whole." They again circulate the thesis about the "closed nature" and the "shroud of secrecy" which allegedly envelops the Warsaw Pact organization's military activity. They repeat the old premise of "the dominant presence in Europe" of the Soviet Union's conventional armed forces.

The leaders of NATO bloc states pretend that they have no idea about the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine, which is defensive in nature and is entirely geared to the task of preventing war, both nuclear and conventional. They pretend not to recall that the Warsaw Pact states declared officially to the whole world that they will never, under any circumstances, launch military operations against any state or alliance of states unless they themselves are the target of armed attack.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states have gone beyond simply proclaiming their military doctrine. They also suggested specific measures to reduce the threat of surprise attack. We are talking about reducing to a minimum agreed level the concentration of armed forces and armaments in the zone of contact between the two military alliances; about withdrawing the most dangerous types of offensive arms from this zone; about creating a nuclear-free corridor along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO; and about creating zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in Europe and zones of reduced concentration of arms and enhanced trust, including in the Balkans. "For our part," as M.S. Gorbachev said in his 16 March speech in Belgrade, "we have repeatedly declared and I would like to reaffirm: The Soviet Union is fully in favor of developing cooperation in the Balkans. We support the latest initiatives by Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece aimed at reducing military activeness here; we advocate the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military bases from the peninsula; we will offer all necessary guarantees if it is decided to create a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans."

If the Western countries were to accept even some of the proposals by Warsaw Pact states, this would undoubtedly improve the situation in Europe and would reinforce the sense of security felt by its peoples. But so far there has been no response by the NATO bloc to these proposals. And indeed, within the overall parity, NATO has more combat-ready divisions and brigades capable of offensive actions without additional deployment. So who is threatening whom?

As for arguments regarding the "closed nature of Soviet society," they make no sense at all. The Soviet Union rigorously fulfills all obligations stemming from the Stockholm accords on notification and verification of military activity. The entire territory of the USSR right up to the Urals is open to such verification. And if there is talk of being closed, this is more relevant to the United States and Canada. The territory of these states is totally excluded from the Stockholm document's sphere of action. The United States categorically opposes such verification. Verification of U.S. military activity applies only to U.S. forces deployed in West Europe. And these represent only one-tenth of the total strength of the U.S. Armed Forces. A shroud of secrecy covers the military activity of the U.S. Navy and Air Force. Because of Washington's stubborn unwillingness, no talks at all on limiting naval activity and reducing naval strength have been held for 20 years now.

The authors of the statement are not altogether correct about geography. The Soviet Union, they claim, is dominant in Europe, having deployed here "50 percent of all the active divisions between the Atlantic and the Urals." But the USSR is a European power, and where is it to deploy its armed forces if not in Europe, where the NATO bloc has deployed a 3-million-strong grouping of armed forces?

Finally, about the Warsaw Pact's "geostrategic advantages." People in NATO love to refer to the fact that the [NATO] bloc's main power lies at a considerable distance from the European continent. But they fail to mention the incontrovertible fact that this same power looms over the Soviet Union's strategic rear, threatening its vital industrial centers and communications. Let us also recall the policy of encircling the Soviet Union with military bases, which has been implemented by the Pentagon for 40 years now, and the West's naval superiority. For example, a White House report dated 28 January 1987 said: "Superiority at sea enables us to take advantage of the Soviet Union's geographical vulnerability and create a global threat to Soviet interests." So what is the truth? At one moment the United States speaks of the Soviet Union's geographical advantages, at the next it emphasizes the U.S. advantages and the Soviet Union's geographical vulnerability. "Convenient" proof is available in either case.

Attention is also attracted by the statement's repeated claims that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact Organization enjoy decisive superiority in conventional arms, primarily tanks and artillery, and that there is a need for "highly asymmetrical reductions by the East."

History ordained that the development of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO proceeded along different paths. We have repeatedly declared that we are prepared to embark on the elimination of existing imbalances, and to do so by reducing "surpluses" wherever they may exist. But for a long time now NATO has been pretending not to have heard of any such proposals.

In reality, approximate parity exists between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO in Europe in terms of armed forces and conventional arms. This is also confirmed by objective observers in Western countries, including well-informed figures like Senator C. Levin, chairman of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee's Conventional Forces [and Alliance Defense] Subcommittee, French military expert Vice Admiral A. Sanguinetti, Retired, and authoritative organizations in the West like the WEU Defense Committee or the London Institute of Strategic Studies. This conclusion about the equilibrium of the sides' forces is drawn on the basis of an objective comparison of all factors determining both alliances' military potential.

When it comes to imbalances and asymmetries, we ought to point out NATO's superiority in strike tactical aviation and combat helicopters, and especially in naval forces. For example, the North Atlantic bloc is superior to the Warsaw Pact Organization by almost 1,500 strike aviation combat aircraft and has almost double the number of combat helicopters. As for navies, in terms of large surface ships (battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and missile frigates), NATO's superiority over the Warsaw Pact Organization is almost threefold, it has 150-percent superiority in naval aircraft and 200-percent superiority

in the total tonnage of ships and navies. This superiority is impossible to conceal. But NATO does not talk about eliminating the asymmetry in this sphere. On the contrary, it constantly demands in every way that navies and air forces be excluded from the subject matter of any future talks.

It must be emphasized that for 20 years now the NATO countries have been evading in every way any examination of the balance of military strength as a whole, while singling out anything that is to their advantage. This is not the way to solve the problem of eliminating asymmetries and imbalances in the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. But it must be solved. We must sit down at the negotiating table and remove all the obstacles. This will make it possible to see who is conducting matters honestly. The staffs of both military alliances know how many armed forces and armaments each side possesses. These data must be placed on the table, they must be exchanged and evaluated, the asymmetry in armaments and troops must be brought to light, and we must set about resolving the problems. "The main avenue toward strengthening peace in Europe," M.S. Gorbachev stressed in Belgrade 16 March, "is—as universally recognized—the reduction of armed forces and armaments on a continent-wide scale, from the Atlantic to the Urals. This does not exclude the so-called dual purpose systems, in other words those capable of carrying nuclear charges. We are in favor of serious and truly businesslike talks, talks without any catches, so to speak, on all these topics with the participation of all European countries."

It is further necessary to note that the accusation contained in the Brussels statement that the USSR maintains in Europe armed forces in excess of what is needed for its defense does not accord with reality. The Soviet Union is guided by the principle of sufficiency for defense and for repelling possible aggression. And the limits of sufficiency are defined not by us but by the actions of the United States and NATO.

An analysis of the tenets of the NATO statement leads to the quite definite conclusion that the leadership of the North Atlantic bloc is endeavoring to impose unilateral disarmament on the socialist countries, to break up the existing structure of Soviet general-purpose armed forces, and ultimately to achieve military superiority.

It is in this context that NATO's guidelines in the nuclear weapons sphere should be examined. The Brussels session reaffirmed NATO's stance that reduction of conventional arms should under no circumstances be linked with the solution of the question of reducing or eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. The statement by the Brussels session of the bloc's Council points out that the allies "will neither make nor accept proposals which would mean an erosion of the nuclear potential" which they possess. This idea was even more

categorically expressed by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, speaking at the Council's plenary session. "There is no viable alternative to nuclear deterrence," she declared.

Taking cover beneath allusions to the fact that NATO countries supposedly "are, and will remain, threatened by Soviet nuclear forces of varying ranges," the authors of the statement emphasize that the nuclear deterrence strategy will remain NATO's main strategy for the foreseeable future. As the document says, they "are fully determined to make the necessary efforts to guarantee in the future the viability, reliability, and effectiveness of their conventional and nuclear forces, including nuclear forces in Europe." NATO's former military programs providing for the creation of new systems of nuclear and conventional arms remain in force.

There is talk, in particular, of strengthening the potential of the U.S. artillery equipped with nuclear combat ammunition deployed in West Europe. A program for improving the "Lance" missiles is under preparation. At the same time, efforts are being made to "compensate" for the forthcoming destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by relocating F-111 bombers from U.S. territory to Europe, relocating 72 F-16 nuclear-capable aircraft now stationed in Spain 1,000 km further east, and deploying ships and submarines equipped with cruise missiles in waters adjacent to European shores. A decision has already been made to start production of binary chemical weapons. The militarist aspect of integration processes in West Europe is also being stepped up. At the same time, totally groundless rumors and stories about the retargeting of certain types of Soviet submarines on Europe and their disappearance from off the U.S. coast, where they were on combat duty [nesli boyevuyu sluzhbu], are being widely circulated.

All this by no means serves the consolidation of security on the European continent. The world does not need new military programs but a policy appropriate to the times.

By its actions the Soviet Union has shown that, for the sake of eliminating the danger of war, it is prepared to meet the West halfway. But its initiatives must meet with reciprocity from the other side. To demand of the USSR unilateral disarmament is a sheer waste of time.

Chernyshev Notes SDI 'Image' 'Lost Its Luster'
LD211520 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

In Washington they are widely marking the 5th anniversary of the "Strategic Defense Initiative", but they have apparently no cause to celebrate: There is effectively nothing left of the SDI "dream" as conceived five years ago.

While then they were talking about an "impregnable shield", now they are talking about a "first phase" of an ABM system with very limited capability.

They were pinning hopes on "exotic" weapons, first of all lasers, but they as yet have to reduce everything to ordinary missiles, only these are to be deployed both on earth and in outer space.

They were publicizing SDI as a way to eliminating nuclear weapons, whereas now they are admitting openly that it is meant to increase "nuclear deterrence".

The "image" of SDI, painted by the imagination of the idea's authors, has clearly lost its luster.

The "star warriors", one should say bluntly, now have serious fears for their "brainchild" which is experiencing the corroding influence of many processes which are taking place both in the United States and on the international scene.

The popularity of SDI among Americans, who realize today that in any case the "space shield" will be full of holes and will be intended primarily to protect military targets, has plummeted dramatically.

The program has been influenced also by positive processes in Soviet-American relations. According to the findings of a public opinion poll, two in three Americans now prefer arms cuts to "Star Wars".

New Soviet international policy has dealt a most serious blow to the perception of this country as an "enemy", an image cultivated by Western propaganda for so long.

The Soviet-U.S. summits and the signature of the INF Treaty have demonstrated that it is possible to enhance security and remove nuclear fears by political means rather than by military methods and by way of developing new arms under the SDI program.

All this has certainly evoked a response in U.S. Congress which has been slashing appropriations for SDI every year and amending bills so as to ensure strict compliance with the ABM Treaty.

Prominent law-makers are just to note that the President, pushing for a continued SDI effort all the time, has been consistently substituting slogans for purposes and a technically convincing analysis.

One should not fail to note certain changes in the approach to SDI on the part of the U.S. military-industrial complex as well. The country's economic difficulties and the "overall" military budget in effect leave no room for funding for further and costly programs without sizable cuts in other items of the Pentagon budget.

The prospect of enormous funds being allocated for SDI at the expense of other military programs has caused obvious concern to individual members of the military-industrial complex, who are beginning to see the "Star Wars" project as the two birds in the bush which can make them lose the bird in the hand.

One recent statement very indicative in this respect was that by Vice-Admiral William Ramsay, deputy commander of the North American airspace defense and deputy chief of the U.S. Space Command, who urged agreement with the Soviet Union to rule out arms deployments in outer space.

He described a prospective Soviet-American treaty to ban weapons in space as a very worthwhile goal.

It would be a dangerous illusion to believe that the SDI program will give up the ghost in the near future. Very influential forces in the United States are continuing to push it vigorously and persistently.

The U.S. "hawks" are demanding stepped-up work on the program, warning against any compromises at Soviet-American talks and insisting that the decision to deploy the "first phase" system be adopted before the departure of the incumbent administration.

Kulikov, Historian Proektor on Pact Forces

*LD210920 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 2045 GMT 20 Mar 88*

[Interviews with Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Daniil Proektor, military historian at the Moscow International Relations Research Institute, by unidentified correspondents; taken from the "Face to Face" program—Kulikov speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Presenter] Marshal Viktor Kulikov holds the post of commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces. It was with the active participation of Marshal Kulikov that in the past 3 years the political leaders of the member states have worked out and adopted the program of nuclear disarmament to the year 2000, the plan of the mutual reduction of the European conventional forces and the armaments, and the banning and destruction of chemical weapons.

The military leader, who is now 67 years old, was squadron leader in the army of Marshal Rokossovskiy, then became batter commander, then brigadier. From 1945 he was the commander of the Kiev Military District, and from 1969 he was commander of the Soviet troops stationed in the GDR. Since 1971 he has been first deputy minister of defense and until 1977 he was the chief of staff of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Marshal Kulikov has had a directing—organizing—role in the elaboration of the new defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact. The fundamental principles of this were published by the member states of the military alliance at the Berlin session of the Political Consultative Committee in 1987. The doctrine lays down the tenet according to which Armed Forces must be reduced on both sides—simultaneously with the elimination of the mass destruction weapons—to such a level that is just about adequate for defense security. Marshal Kulikov is the implementer in practice of the newly defined defense doctrine.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] We know rather little about you as a private person. Do you have children, grandchildren, and what do they do? If you happen to have free time, what do you do to enjoy yourself?

[Kulikov] This is the most difficult question. However, I have hardly any time to meet with my large and close-knit family members. Nonetheless, I grab every opportunity to be with them, in the company of my children and grandchildren. They have presented me with the gift of very good grandchildren. Two of my grandchildren are soldiers and I have another grandchild who is in the [words indistinct] my family. I think my grandchildren will continue to build on what I have started [words indistinct].

I once visited Hungary with my children when they were still very little. They traveled and saw the entire country together with me. Now that you ask me about them I am making a resolve to give more time to them because I feel I am at fault in this regard a bit.

[Correspondent] I am looking here in your office at the busts of Suvorov and Kutuzov. Are they your military idols?

[Kulikov] Undoubtedly. Naturally, the commanders of World War II, the commanders of the Great Patriotic war, the Marshals of the Soviet Union Zhukov, Konev, or Marshal Rokossovskiy are also among my military idols. Rokossovskiy was a very attractive character; I was also fighting in his army between 1943 and 1945. However, there are other outstanding military leaders as well and we learn from them what they practiced during the years of war because they were very courageous, brave, and honest men.

[Correspondent] What are the youth like today in your judgment; what characteristics do the so-called peacetime youth have—I have in mind the young people born after the war.

[Kulikov] Our young men are fulfilling their constitutional duty when they are doing military service and they are doing this in a worthy manner. If we speak about courage and heroism, then we can recall the manner in which these young men have fulfilled their international duty in Afghanistan. We sent a certain, limited military contingent of troops at the request of the Afghan Government. We may say that just as in the years of the Great Patriotic War now, too, heroism, bravery, and steadfastness are on a mass scale.

[Correspondent] In your opinion what consequences can the withdrawal of Soviet troops have? It is primarily the military solutions that we are interested in.

[Kulikov] Look, the Soviet people, all peace-loving peoples, are endeavoring to solve the Afghan problem by political means. The Soviet state, together with the member states of our alliance, are trying hard to pull out the Soviet troops from Afghanistan within the shortest possible time and our opinion is that the sooner the better. Everything depends on the political conditions and the situation in which the Republic of Afghanistan will find itself. [end recording]

[Presenter] Daniil Proektor, leading expert at the Moscow International Relations Research Institute and a military historian, is less well known to the Hungarian television audience, despite the fact that it is he who, in his book published in Hungary, as early as 1985 summed up in a united philosophical system the Soviet leadership's new tenets about international security.

The basic idea expressed in the book is that our concept of war and the role of military force must be fundamentally reshaped because in the nuclear age security can only be guaranteed by political steps rather than by military ones.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] At the beginning of our conversation I asked you about your favorite sport. My guess was chess but you gave something else.

[Proektor] I have several favorite athletic activities. When I was young I played many sports; I spent much time on track and field; I particularly worked on the triple jump and I played volleyball as well. I think there is a definite, qualitative difference with respect to the particular sport one follows.

[Correspondent] It is thought that soldiers, people dealing with military affairs, are, generally, people sitting in one place who like chess and now it turns out that you do not only use your head but have played sports that demand movement. Is it possible to draw a kind of parallel in the sense that the same may be applicable to your military ideas as well?

[Proektor] In my view the dynamism of thought and, stemming from this, the dynamism of military thinking is linked to sports only in an indirect way. It is a well-known fact that the military genius Napoleon liked to play chess but had neither played volleyball nor soccer. He had no opportunity to do either of these at the time because these did not even exist, but Napoleon did not follow other sports, either.

[Correspondent] Then I ask you, do you not think that in practice everyone is playing chess?

[Proektor] Are you asking this literally or in an abstract sense?

[Correspondent] Naturally in an abstract sense.

[Proektor] Look, I would not compare modern politics or modern military strategies to some kind of game. All games have their rules. The player makes a mistake in the game and, let's say he loses the first game, he still has a chance to win in the second chess game. However, in politics, particularly in strategy, mistakes must not be made. If one makes a bad sacrifice in a chess game, one is not threatened by anything but the loss of the game. But in military politics, or in the politics of security, a sacrifice may lead to an irreparable catastrophe. While in the 19th century politics could be compared to a chess game, I would not make the same comparison regarding the 20th century and I think that such comparisons, in my judgment, are even dangerous in our age.

It is well known, for example, that the grandmasters who play the game at a high level have no time for anything besides chess. They study theory all the time, and they

are preparing for their competitions. The same is applicable to politics, military politics. People nowadays must know very thoroughly their own areas of work, they must know much better today than they ever had to do before, and they must see clearly, must be clear about what they want. Whether they want to be good chess players in politics or vice versa.

[Correspondent] The concept of perestroika, that of restructuring, implies that something has to be destroyed as well. The process of restructuring can also be interpreted as one harming some interests. If so, there should be people who oppose perestroika. What is your opinion?

[Unidentified voice] What we are now calling new thinking and restructuring demands more initiative from us as well; a more rational interpretation of the service regulations, and the precise and full implementation of these regulations. Changes affecting those doing their military service are also becoming more democratic, the role of openness is growing, commanders are endeavoring to establish better relations with their subordinates, and the political and party work is improving within the Armed Forces. Restructuring is an objective necessity in the Armed Forces as well and takes place as ordained by the law of history. This process is moving forward fast in the Army and as a consequence improvement can already be witnessed in the attitude to discipline, order, battle readiness, and I think ability, in order that our Armed Forces should always be ready to defend the achievements of socialism and world peace.

To those, however, who do not understand the new thinking, who work with the old methods and who approach the processes taking place in the old way we tell simply: Perhaps it is time that you should give up your place in favor of those who understand the way the work must be done and how it must be done and what must be done in the circumstances of perestroika and new thinking.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, is the prestige of the military profession here in the Soviet Union the same as it has been in the past or has it perhaps declined or, on the contrary, grown? What is your opinion on the basis of your experiences?

[Unidentified voice] Military service in the Soviet Armed Forces is a prestigious duty. It imposes a significant responsibility on the shoulders of everybody who enters the Soviet Army and who takes an oath to defend his fatherland.

I can tell you we are not experiencing unfavorable phenomena. However, it would be wrong to keep silent about the fact that a certain proportion of young people—those with a pacifist conviction—under the influence of certain articles and statements, are endeavoring to remain outside the Army. There have been cases like this with us as well. However, if someone were to say that

the character of young people has changed nowadays, this would not be true. We must carry out tremendous high-level educational work among young people to educate them in patriotism. We must strengthen the idea of respecting and loving the homeland, the idea that we must defend our homeland, our home, particularly now in peacetime. How? By increasing the preparedness for battle and the level of training. In his speeches Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev always stresses, always emphasizes, the true idea that the Soviet Union has never threatened anyone, does not threaten anyone, and will never threaten anyone. The Soviet Union will never be the first to resort to force.

The essence of the principle that determines our thinking is that we have acknowledged that our concept regarding security is first and foremost a political, and not a military or military-technological phenomenon. This is of very great significance.

I have been dealing with these issues for years and in my opinion this approach is a revolutionary turnaround; this new way of thinking now extends to all areas. In my opinion, this has at least two determining factors. The first is that which we term the globalization of international politics. In other words, this means the world is really becoming an arena of mutual dependence. We are indeed living in an increasingly shrinking and increasingly related world and the process of these mutual dependences and links is constantly developing, with ever greater decisiveness and impetus.

Of course, we cannot now predict what will happen to humanity in 20 years. This is impossible. But if we succeed in avoiding a nuclear catastrophe—when I use the term we, I mean the whole of the human community of course—and if we succeed in avoiding an ecological catastrophe, which perhaps threatens the world even more, if we can avoid these, then the world will indeed become smaller and smaller and then we shall solve the military questions in a different way from the way we did yesterday or even today.

This is the first factor. The second is that which we usually refer to as the technological-scientific revolution. These two factors are in very close relationship with each other and both are very important elements of the interpretation of the present, and also the future. The technological explosion that took place between the 1960's and 1980's is increasingly accelerating and is becoming ever more dynamic and will exert an ever greater influence on every sphere of our lives. This includes the Armed Forces.

At least these two factors must be mentioned, although I could go on listing the others as well. If we take this approach as our point of departure in answering the fundamental questions, then these two factors will exert even in the near future, in the foreseeable future, an ever greater influence on military matters and also on East-West relations. They help to achieve the recognition that

in the future no question can be decided through military means. War can exist as a means of deciding political conflicts only in certain areas of the Third World. In East-West relations war cannot be used for the solution of political problems. In my view, this can be a model for the future, for the whole world. By then I will not exist but you will be able to verify whether I spoke the truth, for example in 20 years.

[Correspondent] Will our grandchildren live to see it?

[Unidentified voice] It is possible, but it might come sooner.

[Correspondent] Soviet military doctrine has developed and is developing in connection with the development of the world political situation and the military-political conditions. What do you regard as the most important element or the most important elements of the present defense doctrine of the Soviet Union and of the Warsaw Pact?

[Kulikov] First of all I must tell you that the military doctrine of the Soviet state has always been of a defensive nature in every phase of the development and perfecting of the military doctrine. It was a clear manifestation of the essence of the doctrine that the heads of the Warsaw Pact member states adopting the doctrine at the Berlin session of the Political Consultative Committee interpreted the political essence of this doctrine in an identical way: The struggle for disarmament, for the averting of wars waged with nuclear or conventional weapons and, if necessary, if the enemy engages in aggression, we must strike an annihilating blow at those attacking us.

Of course, the defense of every country has its own characteristic features, its own organizational structure, perhaps some particular characteristics regarding training methods. All this, however, is reflected in the joint military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states. But what I would like to tell the television viewers, everyone, is that we have a military doctrine based on common principles. The principle is the same, and it is the principle of reasonable sufficiency, the unconditional defense of security, the socialist achievements, and peace.

Everyone is very interested in what is to be meant by the principle of the reasonable sufficiency of armed forces. There can only be one answer. That is sufficient which reliably guarantees the protection of the security of every state, the unified defense of each state separately and that of the Warsaw Pact member states as a whole. These statements were endorsed in the resolution of the Political Consultative Committee and are kept in view by our Armed Forces.

[Unidentified voice] This document stresses once again to the whole world that the countries of the Warsaw Pact and, naturally, the Soviet Union have no ill intentions

against a single country in the world. We understand how important it is to stress this in the military sphere as well. After all, during the past decades our common policy pursued with the countries of the Warsaw Pact has been distorted too many times. You also know how many legends were created about us, how many times what the hostile Western press and other means of mass communication call the image of the enemy has been voiced in connection with us.

[Unidentified voice] For me the principle of sufficient security in fact means rationality and realism. But what is your opinion, can the other side, the NATO circles, ever accept this principle? Most importantly, will they be prepared to act on the basis of this principle?

[Kulikov] While our doctrine expresses the principle of sufficiency and its main characteristic is its defensive nature, the leaders of the NATO bloc prefer the doctrine of flexible response and the principle of superiority of strength, which they consider the best defense for the Western countries. Thus, when we talk about the principle of sufficiency, we must not forget that the West seeks to surpass the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact in both quantity and quality.

[Correspondent] Do you know anyone personally among the military leaders of NATO?

[Kulikov] I know them very well from their statements and photographs, but I have never had the chance to meet them personally. In 1986 and 1987 there were endeavors in this direction. We tried to arrange a meeting with the commander in chief of the European Armed Forces, Mr Rogers, so that we should discuss the questions relating to disarmament as soldiers. We declared our intention in this respect and yet Mr Rogers, probably because of pressure by the political leadership, avoided meeting me as commander in chief.

[Unidentified voice] Yet it would be very useful if the military experts, the active military leaders, were to sit down to have talks. After all, being specialists on military matters they understand each other very well.

[Unidentified voice] Yes, we understand each other even from half words. Now, when they have appointed a new North European commander in chief, General Galvin, we think that a meeting would be useful. However, for the moment we do not see the other side striving for this. We are ready to meet the military leadership of the allied forces of NATO.

[Unidentified voice] There are those who say that if soldiers were sitting at the negotiating tables, they would in the strictest sense of the word solve everything in 5 minutes, not like the diplomats.

[Unidentified voice] Perhaps we would not solve everything in 5 minutes, but it would be easier for us to find acceptable contact points and define more precisely the

essence of the lack of equilibrium, asymmetry in the existing armed forces, and on other issues that are perhaps closer to the soldiers because of their profession.

[Unidentified voice] I can read day-by-day in the newspapers that the Soviet Union is coming forward with peace proposals and the other side constantly rejects them.

[Unidentified voice] You know, at times like this what always comes to my mind is an idea which became very widespread during the great French Revolution. This thesis, using a contemporary expression, held that ideas governed the world. The new social needs, if they are really new, in general result in the coming about of entire systems of ideas. They create a whole mass of ideas, or, as it is fashionable to call it these days, idea banks. But it is far from prescribed that all these ideas must be put into practice immediately. But when many such new ideas, new thoughts, accumulate, eventually we reach a certain qualitative dividing line and when we cross it, there is a qualitative explosion; the ideas cease to be mere ideas and become practical politics.

If we are excessively pessimistic, then we could call the temporary period before the ideas are realized in practice [words indistinct]. But I feel that in fact this is not the case. One day every idea can become reality, sooner or later.

Let us take an example. Did not the ideas relating to a peaceful Europe that began to be formulated at the end of the 1960's appear utopian to us or to you, or to the West? They certainly appeared as utopian and who could have seen in, let us say 1968, that in 7 years the Helsinki Conference would come about. Yet this conference did come about and the Helsinki process began.

Let us take another example. When on 15 January 1986, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev put forward a proposal regarding general nuclear disarmament, I was in the FRG so as to elucidate the essence of this program to Western public opinion. I met with very many people and the majority of them received this idea as some sort of unrealistic hypothesis. This was in 1986. At the end of 1987 we reached an agreement with the United States prescribing the elimination of the intermediate- and short-range missiles. You see? That which in 1986 appeared as impossible, after a certain period of time, came about. The same is true regarding all the other proposals.

This is the situation at the present time. But let us look at what it will be in 6 months and we shall see what we can expect after a year. In my opinion, we must not be pessimistic in evaluating ideas that at the present time appear unrealizable, unrealistic. Let us rather adopt a position of wait and see. Do you know what Marshal Kutusov said at the time of the war against Napoleon? You must have read Tolstoy's War and Peace. Kutusov said that the two greatest warlords were patience and

time. You understand, patience and time. Big words, are they not? In my opinion, these words are still valid. In other words, patience and time.

[Correspondent] How does the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces see the security-political situation of Europe in the wake of the signing of the Washington agreement? What is your opinion concerning the endeavor of the Western European wing of NATO to modernize their traditional armaments after the agreement?

[Kulikov] The Washington agreement that was signed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Mr Reagan is an event of historic significance. This is the beginning of the road leading to nuclear disarmament. We had endeavored over many years to reach this agreement. We consider that the elimination of two entire classes of missiles, that is, the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, will provide a good starting point for the solution of such questions as well as the reduction and eventual elimination of strategic arms. According to Western military leaders, however, the gap that comes about with the dismantling of the missiles must be filled somehow. One possible way of doing this is the modernization of the existing traditional armaments and the creation of new types of weapons, for example, the modernization of the (?Lance) type missiles and the creation of dual purpose carriers. You understand what is involved here, means that can deliver both conventional and nuclear warheads.

We have information that to make up for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the United States is redeploying B-52 strategic bombers, F-111, and F-15

planes to the FRG. Turkey is also willing to offer its territory for the deployment of this air force. In other words, one could sum up the military reports by saying that the military force of NATO will not decrease in the wake of signing the agreement.

Their policy is once again directed at solving the questions from a position of strength. In this connection their military doctrine, their views, have not changed. We, on the other hand, on the contrary, believe this treaty is a good beginning, a good foundation for further dialogue. It is a good beginning for continuing the disarmament of nuclear and conventional weapons, or for beginning this process.

I would like to emphasize that we are still awaiting the response from the United States and the other NATO countries to the proposals which the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee put forward in Budapest, in which we formulated the possible frameworks of an agreement. We are endeavoring to achieve a reduction that would not upset the existing strategic balance between the forces of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact. In other words, balance and sufficient security. [end recording]

Maslyukov Leaves for Sofia CEMA Session
LD211434 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—Yuriy Maslyukov, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, today left Moscow for Sofia where he will attend a regular meeting of the CMEA committee for Cooperation in Planning.

'International Situation—Questions and Answers'

LD190422 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 18 Mar 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Vladimir Pasko, All-Union Radio commentator, with Yevgeniy Kachanov, Phnom Penh correspondent; (Fridrikh Ovsienko), senior lecturer at the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee; and "colleague" Igor Surguchev]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Pasko] We are continuing to receive questions connected with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Does it not seem to you that by destroying the missiles we will be weakening our might? Boris Sergeyevich Zhanayev, from the town of Karachayevsk, asks this question. After all, the United States has not stopped development of the Strategic Defense Initiative and has started production of binary and other kinds of weapons.

Galina Nikolayevna Belo, who lives in the town of Vasilkov in Kiev Oblast, supports the treaty unconditionally but expresses bewilderment: Why will the destruction of the missiles take so long—3 years? Can this not be done more quickly? After all, the United States is the sort of country that might well reverse its decision. Our people's views of the United States, at least of the way it complies with its obligations [pokrayney mere yeye obyazatelnosti], is quite definite. Fresh in the memory of all of them is the fact that the Americans got around the ABM Treaty. They see how they conduct themselves regarding the ban on chemical weapons and on the drawing up of a treaty on reducing strategic offensive armaments.

Nonetheless, I can say that the treaty signed in Washington in December does not weaken our security. Not only that—it raises it. How? First of all, by strengthening strategic stability and by reducing the danger of an outbreak of war. I again wish to draw your attention to the fact that the treaty results in the elimination of 759 U.S. missiles, most of which have already been deployed, which are aimed at us and our allies. Surely their elimination is in our interests! After all, the missiles we are destroying under the treaty do not reach U.S. territory.

Regarding the deadlines within which the missiles have to be destroyed, it is evidently not possible to make them any shorter. To all appearances this is both because of the technology of destruction itself—it is not simple—and of the procedure of eliminating the missiles. Pay attention to the text of the treaty. A greater part of it involves conditions of elimination. Why has this been so scrupulously worked out in detail? It was done in order not to upset the balance of forces in the course of

destroying the missiles. The treaty has been drawn up in such a way that at all stages of its implementation, the sides should preserve the principle of equality and identical security.

Regarding the doubt as to whether or not Washington will reverse its decision, I will not hazard any guesses. I assume, however, that the Americans are no less interested in this treaty than we are. After all, it opened the way to reducing strategic offensive armaments: intercontinental ballistic missiles, ballistic missiles on submarines, strategic aircraft, and sea-based cruise missiles. If such a treaty is drawn up, the security of the United States will grow stronger. This is understood and taken into account in practical actions in Washington. [passage omitted on Kachanov remarks]

The good thing about our broadcast is that it is at least not boring to those who prepare it.

Georgiy Nikolayevich Makarenko from Zhitomir writes: A line called Polar Possessions of the USSR has been drawn on maps from the extreme northwestern to the northeastern point of the USSR. That is to say, the greater part of the northern Arctic Ocean is part of the Soviet Union's border. But in the Law on the Border of the USSR, it says that at sea, the border runs 12 miles from the shore. In that case, the former contradicts the latter, our listener writes, and asks: Does any other country recognize the USSR's polar possessions? Georgiy Nikolayevich also asks us to give a reply as to where the border between the USSR and Iran runs in the Caspian Sea. Are Iranian fishermen allowed to catch fish in the Caspian Sea within the 200-mile zone?

I went to the Treaty and Legal Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry to consult with them. This is what I was told there: The line running from the borders of the Soviet Union as far as the North Pole and designated on maps as the boundary of the USSR's polar possessions is not the state border of our country in the full sense. This line only designates the geographical coordinates established by a decision of the Presidium of the USSR Central Executive Committee in 1926 within the bounds of which all lands and islands were declared the territory of the Soviet Union. The fact that the Arctic islands off our northern coast belong to the Soviet Union is now not disputed by a single state, even though from time to time in some countries of the West, so to speak, among the public, irresponsible calls are heard and in that context such claims were put forward, for instance, regarding Wrangel Island and a few others.

Now, about the state border of the USSR: In the marine expanses of the northern Arctic Ocean, just as in other water areas of the world ocean, the littoral states, including the Soviet Union, have established such zones of national jurisdiction as territorial waters, a 200-mile economic zone. The outer boundary of the Soviet 12-mile territorial waters is the state border of the Soviet Union. True, it is necessary to stress that the legal regime

of an ice-covered region, as the waters of the northern Arctic Ocean are, also have essential features. It has been generally recognized and laid down in international conventions that, by virtue of the special harshness of climatic conditions and the vulnerability of such areas, the littoral states have the right to introduce special rules there relating, for instance, to shipping and protection of the environment. It is also necessary to take into account that the Northern Sea Passage passes along the Arctic coast of the USSR. It is used only by Soviet ships and is a national supply line of the Soviet Union.

Now, about the border with Iran in the Caspian: In the strict legal sense of the word, the Caspian Sea is not a sea—it does not have a way out to the world ocean. From the point of view of international law, it is an inland sea, that is to say, simply speaking, a lake, even though it is a very big one and has been called a “sea” on geographical maps. For this reason, the Soviet part of the Caspian is our inland waters, Soviet territory. The freedom of the open sea does not extend to these waters. There also is no 200-mile economic zone in which there would be a right of freedom of foreign shipping. Under the Soviet-Iranian agreements, concluded in the twenties and forties, the Caspian has been declared a Soviet and Iranian sea. Questions of Soviet and Iranian shipping were settled. Regarding the borders, according to our law on the state border, in lakes and other inland water bodies, the border runs along a straight line linking the points jutting out of the dry land state border to the shores of such water bodies.

The editorial office has once again been receiving quite a few letters containing specific questions on various aspects of the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, including the tanker war, as it is called.

War and labor veteran Dmitriy Nikolayevich Gorodnyuk, of Tiraspol, asks: How can one explain Iran's present hostility toward Iraq and vice versa, including the personal enmity of the leaders of the two countries?

I don't think I would be wrong if I say that the explanation lies above all in the extremely bitter nature of the armed conflict itself between Iran and Iraq, especially of late. A new feature is the war of the cities, the express purpose of which is to destroy peaceful civilians and undermine their morale and, ultimately, their willingness to go on resisting. The second cause of the present hostility between the two countries is their territorial dispute, which they have been conducting for a long time, using far from peaceful means. Each side, by the way, accuses the other of having started the conflict.

On top of all these causes, the hostility of the leaders of the two countries toward each other is further aggravated by the ideological disagreements between the main branches of Islam—the present Shi'ite leadership of Iran and the Sunni leadership of Iraq.

A second question comes from labor veteran Aleksandr Sergeyevich Terentyev of Dushanbe: Why has Iran repeatedly refused to carry out the relevant UN resolutions calling for, among other things, a cease-fire and peace negotiations? The Iranian leadership wants the UN to declare that Iraq—and specifically, its present leadership—is the aggressor.

Another question from Comrade Terentyev is this: What makes Iran so sure it can get away with its actions in the Gulf? I do not think one can regard those actions as being engendered by a sense of impunity. It seems to me that what they reveal is, rather, signs of desperation. Besides, Iraq is also waging a tanker war, only with the use, not of fast launches, but of other weapons. This, incidentally, also answers a question from Sergey Mikhailovich Gorbikov, from the town of Cherepanova in Novosibirsk Oblast.

And another thing: Both sides, by waging the tanker war, are trying to undermine the enemy's economy, and that economy is based, above all, on oil. The participants of this war are, therefore, attacking indiscriminately any ship bound for the other side's ports. Other Gulf states are also suffering from the tanker war, for example, Kuwait, which is one of the main exporters of the region.

Comrade Boyko, of Bezymyannaya Station in Krasnodar Kray, asks: Who does the Gulf oil belong to, and why is it being transported under escort of warships from many states? The supplies of oil belong, naturally, to the countries in which they are situated. It has already been said that all Gulf countries have a lot of oil. They all export it and have certain contractual export obligations. The tankers are escorted by warships of many states, including a few Soviet ones. Unfortunately, the United States, Britain, and some other Western powers have hastened to exploit the situation in the Gulf in order to create there a powerful naval and air strike force. Such actions, as our country has on more than one occasion pointed out, only lead to continuing tension in the region.

My last reply is to a question from Viktor Zaleskiy of Ufa: One reason that many of the attacks on tankers are successful is that as a rule, the warships of the exporters in the Gulf act in an uncoordinated fashion, the author of the letter writes. The Soviet Union has officially proposed setting up a joint naval group in the region under UN aegis, but the United States and its allies have rejected that proposal. [passage omitted on Ovsiyenko remarks]

Muscovites Dokunin, a student, and senior school pupil Vadim Sazonov ask about the situation in Western Sahara, and the prospects for a settlement of the armed conflict there. My colleague Igor Surguchev will talk about this:

[Surguchev] Military actions in the Western Sahara have been going on for the last 15 years, and unfortunately, there are no weighty justifications to speak about them coming to an early end. [passage omitted]

A war has been going on in this territory for the last 12 years between the Moroccan Army and the armed forces of the Polisario Front, a patriotic Western Saharan organization which fought against the Spanish colonizers, too. In February 1976, it proclaimed the formation of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, SADR, which has a constitution and its own leading organs. Even though the leadership of the Polisario Front is based on the territory of Algeria, near Tindouf, where the Western Saharan refugee camps are situated, the international prestige of the SADR is growing. Now it is recognized by 70 states, including the majority of African countries. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union advocates the complete decolonization of the Western Sahara and comes out in favor of its people's right to freely determine its destiny. At the UN the USSR has voted in favor of all resolutions confirming this right. At the same time, our country refrains from officially recognizing the SADR. I think that this has been dictated by the striving to maintain good relations with all states of this region and the understanding of the fact that in the present situation, the imperialist forces might jump at such a step by Moscow as a pretext for the internationalization of the Western Sahara conflict. [passage omitted]

'International Review' of Week's Events

PM221033 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[Vitaliy Korionov "International Review": "A Week in the World"]

[Text] Marching Forward [subhead]

Mankind's progress toward a nuclear-free world can be compared to an ascent toward a mountain peak. As soon as the forces upholding peace manage to find a way out of an impasse and dismantle a particular barrier, the bellicose circles of imperialism hurriedly erect new obstacles.

Nevertheless, there are grounds for saying that the efforts of the USSR and the efforts of all peace-loving peoples and states are not in vain. The international horizon is gradually becoming brighter and the prerequisites for further movement toward nuclear disarmament are being created little by little. This main trend of current world development and its motive forces are becoming increasingly apparent.

The chief force here is socialism. In pronouncements by the statesmen and political figures of foreign countries and remarks in the world press, one increasingly encounters the statement that the current shifts in the international situation are, above all, fruit cultivated on the tree of the new political thinking.

The builders of the new life are aware that socialism has not yet revealed all its massive potential. The socialist states see it as one of their most important tasks to completely reveal this potential and make fuller use of it for the benefit of the peoples and for the building of a safe world.

It is natural, therefore, that there should be exceptional interest everywhere in M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to socialist Yugoslavia.

We now have grounds for saying that relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia are rising to a qualitatively new level. The entire range of Soviet-Yugoslav relations has been given fine momentum. The declaration signed in Belgrade not only consolidates the basic provisions of the 1955-1956 document but lays the foundation for developing Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation in all areas in the years to come.

In the economic sphere, the opportunity is emerging for a transfer from simple trade relations to a more mature stage of cooperation, specialization, and production sharing. This process will be aided by the implementation of the signed long-term Program of Economic Cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia for the period up to the year 2000. In the political sphere, the foundation is being laid for the further widening of cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY. Both parties confirmed their readiness to further develop and enrich the content of their relations in accordance with the principles of independence, equality, and noninterference, the responsibility of each party to the working class and peoples of its country, and mutual respect for the different ways of building socialism and their international position. There is wide scope for activity in the sphere of international activity, where our countries' positions coincide or are close.

There has been lively comment in the world on the Soviet leader's specific proposals on easing the current tension in the Mediterranean. These proposals are supported by the international general public. Only NATO circles are wary about them. Since they do not have any convincing argument against the Soviet initiatives, they dolefully reiterate the hackneyed thesis that with its proposals the USSR allegedly intends to "separate the United States from its European allies." It is an old disk that is too worn to play!

The socialist countries are persistently seeking methods and forms of foreign policy enabling them to actively

influence the course of international events in the interests of the whole world. Recently, on Yugoslavia's initiative, a meeting of Balkan countries' foreign ministers was held in Belgrade. It loudly called for a start on solving an urgent issue: creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

The CPCZ came up with an important initiative when it proposed establishing on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborliness, a kind of "relaxation of tension zone" from which the most dangerous types of offensive weapons would be removed.

The strengthening of the fraternal countries' friendship depends to a massive extent on the ruling communist and workers parties. New evidence of their strengthening cooperation was the Ulaanbaatar conference of secretaries for ideological affairs of fraternal states' communist party central committees.

Life shows that agreements determining the foundations of their cooperation in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture are an effective instrument for solving the tasks facing communists. It is on the basis of the declaration signed in April 1987 by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski that cooperation is developing successfully between the USSR and Poland in the history of relations between the two countries. The other day a program was signed for deepening cooperation between the CPSU and MPRP in the sphere of ideology, culture, science, and education.

The Road to Mutual Understanding [subhead]

This month it is planned to complete the withdrawal of Soviet OTR-22 missiles, known in the West as SS-12's, from the territory of the GDR and CSSR. Mankind is witnessing a unique fact: A state is fulfilling a treaty before it has been ratified!

The signing of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles signifies that the first tender shoot of nuclear disarmament has managed to break through the crust of prejudices and stereotypes of hostility. This shoot has not yet put down deep roots, and it is constantly under attack in the United States and other NATO countries. This makes particularly acute the task of consolidating the success that has been gained and of preventing any break in the pace.

The question of strategic nuclear arms and conventional weapons is now on the agenda. The Soviet side is purposefully seeking to fulfill the task facing the delegations conducting the talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms—preparing a range of documents on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive armaments on condition of observance of the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972 and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed period. The

USSR's premise is that a treaty on strategic offensive arms can be prepared by the time the U.S. President visits Moscow in the spring.

In this connection, the U.S. and world public's attention has been attracted by recent reports from Washington. Someone very close to the President—White House Chief of Staff H. Baker—announced what is being prepared for the President to take with him on his upcoming trip to the USSR. "The President," Baker said, "has made it clear that he will travel to Moscow without feeling any need to complete some specific matter, and certainly not to try to complete the achievement of an agreement on strategic arms." Baker added: "Although maybe we are preparing a treaty on strategic arms cuts for signing in Moscow, it cannot be claimed that this will definitely happen."

It is hard to agree with this approach. In fact, there is no question of any haste but of striking while the iron is hot. The USSR's aim, which accords with the aspirations of all peoples, is to sign a solid, reliable treaty on strategic offensive arms.

Some 2-3 years ago, few people would have imagined that the present U.S. Administration would have concluded the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles with the USSR. But the realities of the nuclear missile age, the Soviet Union's purposeful course, and its peace initiatives, which have gained enormous support among the world public, including the U.S. public, led to the treaty's becoming a fact. The vital interests of the peoples imperatively demanded further progress, toward signing a treaty on strategic offensive arms, and then toward total elimination of nuclear weapons.

As for the USSR, it is doing all it can to maintain the atmosphere of cooperation in which the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was achieved. There is gradual movement forward here, too. A mechanism is being created for Soviet-American cooperation embracing new areas. Soviet-American dialogue has now extended to such a complex sphere as the military sphere.

There was a meeting in Bern which would have appeared inconceivable 2-3 years ago: USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov and U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci sat down at the same table, for the first time in the history of bilateral relations. The day before, THE NEW YORK TIMES had reproduced pronouncements by unnamed Washington specialists claiming that the "Soviet leadership is using the meeting to obtain propaganda benefits." That is how ossified the old thinking has become: Any action in favor of international cooperation is always seen in that light!

Moscow sees the defense ministers' meeting as another step on the path of deepening Soviet-American dialogue. Successful new thinking, particularly in the military sphere, cannot be achieved without comparing the sides'

military doctrines, without profoundly revealing states' and military political alliances' aims and intentions. The Bern meeting provided such an opportunity, and therein lies its significance. The Soviet side stressed once again in Bern that the military doctrine of the USSR, as of its allies in the Warsaw Pact, is entirely defensive. It is on this basis that all aspects of activity in the military sphere are determined.

Dangerous Actions [subhead]

The events of the past week have once again confirmed that bellicose imperialist circles are continuing their frantic quest for means enabling them to maintain tension in various parts of the world. It is to this end that obstacles are being artificially piled up in the way of a political solution of regional conflicts.

I will mention a few instances that have occurred in recent days. The situation in Central America has been sharply aggravated by the transfer of U.S. troops to Honduras. U.S. interference in Panamanian internal affairs is increasing and is creating a crisis situation in the country. The reaching of an agreement is being blocked at the Afghan-Pakistani talks which are being conducted through D. Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general. The results of Israeli Prime Minister I. Shamir's visit to the United States show that the U.S. stance is far from contributing to a genuine peace settlement in the Near East.

I believe that these are not isolated phenomena. They appear to be integral parts of the course geared to preventing detente from getting its second wind.

Indeed, as a result of the constructive stance of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan at the Geneva talks, it was possible to agree on Afghan-Pakistani stances on the main issues, which created conditions for the signing of the elaborated documents on 15 March. Certain Western journalists in Geneva were only concerned about the Pakistani delegation head's broken right arm, wondering whether he would be able to remove the plaster before the time came for signing the agreement. But the hand was not raised. And the plaster had nothing to do with it, of course. At the very time when the Geneva talks were

in the closing stage, the U.S. paper THE WALL STREET JOURNAL reproduced the words of an unnamed U.S. Administration official: "We must now be doing everything we can to ensure that they (meaning the USSR—V. K.) do not secure peace in Afghanistan." That is the crux of the matter.

There is an ongoing vociferous campaign in the United States to show that Washington is in favor of a peace settlement in the Near East. But the settlement cannot be achieved without solving the Palestinian issue. And what is the U.S. stance on this? Washington is not confining itself to giving all-round support to its "strategic ally"—Israel. It is itself taking action against the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the PLO.

While the Israeli thugs are on the rampage in the occupied Arab territories, killing women and children in cold blood, the Washington authorities have leveled accusations of "terrorism" at... the PLO. It is on this pretext that the provisions of the law adopted by Congress and signed by the President banning activities in the United States by "any representatives" of the PLO, including the mission of the PLO's permanent observer at the United Nations, are to enter into effect tomorrow. Thus, the Washington authorities' decision is a discriminatory and unlawful step. But that is not all.

Washington intends to carry out its decision at a time when the Palestinian uprising against the occupiers is continuing in the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. This means that the U.S. authorities are essentially stabbing the Palestinians and all the Arab peoples in the back. The United Nations is also hit. Recently, the 42d session of the UN General Assembly was forced to rapidly resume its work in order to discuss at the Arab countries' request the U.S. intention to close the PLO mission. The session was unanimous: The U.S. actions are directed not only against the mission but also against the United Nations. Some 143 delegations voted for the resolution.

The peoples draw from events taking place the following conclusion: It is necessary to increase vigilance regarding the dangerous activity of the diktat policy advocates and increase efforts leading to achievement of a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze-Shultz Talks Open in Washington

Arrival Comments

*LD212336 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 21 Mar 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 20 March Comrade Shevardnadze arrived in Washington. Our correspondent, Vladimir Dunayev, reports:

[Begin recording] [Dunayev] The intensity of Soviet-U.S. political contacts is striking. Meetings at the foreign minister level are becoming monthly, for both sides are directing their efforts at drafting by the middle of this year a treaty on radical cuts in strategic offensive weapons.

That this aim is realistic was stated on television here by Secretary of State George Shultz on the day Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze arrived in Washington. This is especially important since this and other voices are being heard. Not only U.S. and Soviet diplomats arrived to meet Comrade Shevardnadze, but also journalists. Here is the crowd of journalists. Interest in Soviet-U.S. relations is special. It is a result of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit and the December summit. [video shows Shevardnadze taking microphone and walking up to barrier behind which press and cameramen are crowded together, and then answering questions]

[Shevardnadze] We came in a mood for work. There is not much time before the President's visit to the Soviet Union. Yet [word indistinct] including consultations at the foreign minister level, are operating with a heavy workload and with a certain return [words indistinct]. I think we must try to work intensively and to achieve results, so as to make the President's visit to the Soviet Union as impressive and significant as Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Washington was. This is not a simple task, but it can be done.

This is the mood in which we arrived. There lies before us a meeting with the President, Mr Reagan, talks, several rounds of talks with the secretary of state and other officials of the administration.

[Unidentified reporter] Do you foresee any problems?

[Shevardnadze] There are many problems.

[Unidentified reporter, speaking in English] And will you solve them?

[Shevardnadze] No doubt we will. We will discuss all regional problems, the Afghanistan issue, the Iran-Iraq war, the Middle East problems, the issue of solving the

Cambodian problem, and the situation in Central America, which is getting worse and which arouses a certain anxiety, serious anxiety for us.

[Dunayev] The conversation with journalists is at a close. Tomorrow official talks begin. [end recording]

Geneva First Topic

*LD220330 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
0310 GMT 22 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington, 22 Mar (TASS)—On Monday talks began in the U.S. capital between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz.

At the focus of attention in the first round, which was held tete-a-tete, were matters concerned with key aspects of the Geneva talks on concluding a treaty on strategic offensive weapons and ABMS, as well as the most topical regional issues.

"A very general overview of the international situation" was also held, as E.A. Shevardnadze told reporters after his meeting with G. Shultz. Replying to their questions, the USSR foreign minister remarked that he believes it may be possible during his visit to Washington to set a timetable for a fresh summit meeting between CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan to be held in Moscow.

Also on Monday, discussion began in several specially established joint groups of experts, within the context of the talks between the ministers.

Talks Continue

*LD220947 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 22 Mar 88*

[Text] Talks have begun in Washington between Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Shultz, U.S. secretary of state. Our special correspondent Vladimir Gerasichev reports from the U.S. capitol:

[Gerasichev] During the talks, discussion has continued on such important problems as the working out of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments and the problem of preserving the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in Moscow in 1972.

THE WASHINGTON POST has reported that the U.S. side has prepared new proposals for the meeting on the monitoring of a future treaty on reducing strategic arms. The press also quotes the words of Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who said in an interview for the NBC television network that the Soviet Union continues to believe that it is possible to prepare

this treaty by the time of Ronald Reagan's visit to Moscow and to sign it at the meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. It also quotes a statement by Reagan to the **INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE** to the effect that the new treaty is considerably more complicated than the treaty eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles; and that if its preparation is not completed by May, then he is nevertheless willing to meet Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev once again this year.

A meeting between Comrade Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz, as well as talks at the level of experts, are to take place today. All the country's major newspapers have quoted a brief statement made by Comrade Shevardnadze on arrival at Andrews Air Force Base. It expressed the hope that during the talks with Secretary of State Shultz the precise date for President Reagan's visit to Moscow would be determined.

Shultz Speaks on Arms Talks, Summit, Nicaragua
LD211246 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 21 TASS—On the eve of his talks with the USSR foreign minister, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said that he considered possible the completion of work on the treaty on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons by the time of Ronald Reagan's visit to Moscow. "I think it's possible", George Shultz said in the NBC Television programme "Meeting the Press". "I think it's very hard work, and it's by no means in the bag. But it's possible. But we are not going to try to have one just for the sake of a treaty," George Shultz said, "we'll only be willing to go forward." "Both sides would like to see a strategic arms treaty, if we can get a good one that's solid and we see in our interests—and, of course they see in their interests", he noted.

Touching upon the preparations for the Moscow summit, the U.S. secretary of state pointed out "I think it is important that summit meetings have content". "We are now evolving into a process where perhaps they will come to be a little more normal." "And I think that's healthy," the U.S. secretary of state stressed.

Touching upon regional problems, the U.S. secretary of state was trying to justify the policy of the United States in Central America, including the decision of the U.S. Administration to airlift to Honduras additional military units, as a result of which the situation in that region has seriously deteriorated. George Shultz reaffirmed U.S. support for the Guatemala accord, but at the same time he described the Nicaraguan Government as "the principal obstacle" in the way towards a mutually acceptable settlement of the outstanding problems of that region. Judging by the pronouncements of George Shultz, the administration intended to use the situation on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border in order to try again to convince the Congress to endorse the appropriations for the contras. The U.S. secretary of state again

declared Washington's intention to press ahead for ousting the Panamanian leader General Noriega. "The situation is that Noriega must leave, sooner or later, the sooner, the better," Shultz said.

The U.S. secretary of state again advocated his plan for a Middle East settlement, despite objections from Israeli Prime Minister Shamir. At the same time he observed that his plan was not aimed at achieving mandatory decisions on a peaceful settlement. The USA views its proposals only as "a vehicle for getting negotiations started." Rejecting the serious doubts expressed by newsmen, the secretary of state described his plan as an "approach to getting the peace process going in the Middle East."

U.S. Test Launches Pershing Missiles in FRG
LD220849 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT
22 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 22 TASS—The U.S. Army Monday conducted successful test launches of five Pershing-2 missiles.

Systems of this class are to be scrapped under the INF Treaty.

CNN television said the unarmed missiles had been launched by U.S. servicemen from among the NATO force permanently based in West Germany.

U.S. Company Announces Halt to ASAT Program
LD182309 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 18 TASS—The aerospace company Ling-Temco-Vought (LTV) announced on Thursday cessation of work on the programme for the creation of anti-satellite weapons (ASAT). This decision has been taken in accordance with the orders given to the U.S. Air Force, the newspaper **WALL STREET JOURNAL** said today.

The representative of LTV, the main contractor of the project worth 135 million dollars, said that this measure, which is to become effective next week, is connected with the incessant opposition of Congress to the plans for the creation of ASAT. The protests of the law-makers have already resulted in restrictions on the development and tests of space weapons, the newspaper notes.

Yet, to all appearances, the point at issue is a tactical retreat rather than full renunciation of the production of anti-satellite weapons systems. U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci said that implementation of the programme would resume, if the Congress lifts the ban on ASAT tests, the newspaper **WALL STREET JOURNAL** points out in that connection.

U.S. Threatens Lawsuit on PLO Mission Closure

LD211017 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT

21 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 21 TASS—The Reagan administration intends to file a lawsuit today with the Federal District Court in New York to get the mission of the PLO permanent observer to the United Nations closed.

Justice Department spokesman Patrick Korten said Sunday they were ready to start legal action if the mission was not closed voluntarily.

A bill endorsed by both congressional chambers and that the PLO mission be closed contrary to U.S. international commitments was signed by President Reagan late last year, prompting international protests.

Ignoring the opinion of the international community, the U.S. Justice Department spokesman said the administration was going to seek a court ruling prescribing the PLO mission to vacate its premises in New York immediately.

U.S.-USSR Meeting on Human Rights Viewed

LD181507 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian

0730 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Mayak commentary by Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Text] The first meeting of representatives of the Soviet and U.S. public on human rights issues opens today in Washington. Here is a Mayak commentary, with Andrey Ptashnikov at the microphone:

[Ptashnikov] As you know, comrades, human rights issues are central to modern international relations. They are discussed within the United Nations and during various international meetings and talks, including at the summit level. There are conferences, symposia, and telebridges on them. As you no doubt have noticed, the approach to this problem and to ways of resolving it clearly are different in the East and West, and this is demonstrated most prominently and precisely in relations between the USSR and the United States.

No, the Soviet Union does not deny the great significance of the problem or the need for a very swift and just solution of all its many varied aspects. However, we are in favor of other urgent problems of today being resolved along with it and independently of each other, primarily the issue of disarmament and the preservation of human civilization. As for the U.S. Administration, as is known, it insistently tries to link all these issues precisely with the human rights issue, constantly whipping up a propaganda campaign over the allegedly crude violation of them in socialist countries. No doubt there is no need to dwell on all these fabrications and simple fantasies that are circulating. You know them all perfectly well, comrades. Unfortunately, it needs to be recognized that this

campaign to disinform public opinion in the West does yield fruits. This is shown even by the questions from participants in the telebridges I mentioned.

I do not want to resort now to accusations in reply. I act on the principle: Cast out the beam in your own eye. I will simply quote a telegram from AFP in Washington. It says that President Reagan has vetoed a bill under which the federal government must cut off funds to those organizations that practise discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age, or creed, even though this bill was supported by a majority in the Senate and House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. A blow to civil rights is how Senator Kennedy described this step by the President. One cannot but agree with him.

In conclusion, I would like to mention this: The policy of restructuring and glasnost now underway in our country is significantly altering the image Americans have of the Soviet Union. It is forcing them to abandon many stereotypes ingrained into them right from childhood. I was able to convince myself of this personally during a recent trip to the United States. However, this process has only just begun. For it to develop, to gain speed, requires not just time; personal meetings and contacts between people are needed, including between Russians and Americans. Human contacts are needed, which not only enable people to learn the truth, but to understand each other better. There is no doubt that the first meeting of representatives of the Soviet and American public of human rights issues, beginning in Washington today, will promote the achievement of this aim.

U.S. Aid for Jewish Emigres To Be Reduced

PM170925 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 10

in Russian 12-18 Mar 88 (Signed to Press 10 Mar 88) p 7

[A. Shanaurov article under the rubric "Foreign Voices": "When the Words Do Not Match... the Money"]

[Text] It is well known with what persistence and consistency Western radio stations, and VOA in particular, defend the unlimited right of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality to emigrate from the USSR. If one lends credence to the broadcasts of these radio stations, a decent existence in conditions of the "free world" awaits the emigres in the West. Some people might even believe that people expect them with open arms and proffered purses saying: There, take and use what the West has to offer.

However, all this talk serves mainly the propaganda purposes of VOA, the Voice of Israel, and other "voices" or is designed to be proclaimed from the high rostrum of the Vienna forum, where U.S. delegates bombastically declare their support for the cause of developing humanitarian cooperation between East and West. However, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported recently that the State Department has quietly notified U.S. charitable organizations which give assistance to immigrants "that

they can no longer expect additional means to cover increasing costs." The point is that these organizations (they include the international salvation committee and the 'World Church Service) are currently experiencing considerable difficulties in connection with the sharp fall in the purchasing power of the dollar. Now, it appears, they not only cannot expect additional money, but must prepare for cuts in appropriations. The newspaper reports that the U.S. State Department representatives told the organizations which take care of emigres from the USSR to proceed on the assumption that the funds made available to them will be \$7-10 million below the sum they originally expected. In addition, costs are expected to rise this year as a result of the U.S. decision to test all arrivals for AIDS, which will cost an additional \$3.5 million.

And so it appears that professing concern for emigres and luring them out of the USSR by hook or by crook, and actually providing assistance to them are two totally different things. So only naive people can hope for generosity from Uncle Sam.

Dobrynin, Armand Hammer Discuss Joint Enterprise
PM221247 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Business Talk"]

[Text] A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Armand Hammer, prominent representative of U.S. business circles, well-known public figure in the United States, and chairman of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation board, for a talk.

A. Hammer, who is in Moscow to sign a protocol on establishing a joint petrochemical enterprise, said that since M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States American business circles are more interested in expanding mutually advantageous trade and other forms of economic cooperation between our countries. It is planned to discuss the relevant issues at the session of the American-Soviet Trade and Economics Council to be held in Moscow in the middle of April, which will involve many American businessmen.

The sides were unanimous that the improved political atmosphere in Soviet-American relations, particularly as a result of the summit meetings, and the current restructuring process in the USSR in the economy and foreign economic activity create favorable possibilities for substantially increasing business ties between the USSR and the United States. Now it is important to consistently remove artificial obstacles in this path.

Dobrynin Receives U.S. Businessman Kendall
LD182142 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has received Donald Kendall, member of the Board of Directors of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC), a prominent U.S. businessman.

Donald Kendall told about the growing interest in a mutually advantageous cooperation with the USSR among American business circles. Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting in Washington with U.S. businessmen perceptibly enhanced this interest. Kendall said that it was not accidental that some 300 representatives of the leading American companies were going to take part in the next ASTEC session due to be held in mid-April in Moscow. U.S. businessmen hope that during the session they would again be able to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. For American businessmen it would be a kind of a summit. It is good that it would be held ahead of new talks between the leaders of the two countries that are expected to be held in Moscow.

Both participants in the meeting pointed out that a gradual improvement of a political atmosphere in Soviet-American relations should go together with the step-by-step removal of artificial obstacles in the sphere of the expansion of business relations between the USSR and the U.S.

Nikonov Meets Kendall
PM211641 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] On 16 March V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received D. Kendall, chairman of the PepsiCo Company's Executive Committee and a prominent representative of U.S. business circles, at the latter's request.

Thorough talks were held on the present stage and development prospects of Soviet-U.S. trade and economic ties, including the sphere of agro-industrial production. The common opinion was expressed that more active use should be made of the favorable opportunities now being opened up for expanding mutually advantageous economic ties in various spheres of our countries' cooperation—which would be an important factor in strengthening Soviet-U.S. relations as a whole on a constructive basis.

D. Kendall pointed out that the results of M.S. Gorbachev's U.S. visit and the meetings and frank talks in Washington between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and prominent representatives of U.S.

business elicited a broad response in the country's business world and increased the desire of U.S. companies to establish direct ties with their Soviet partners, including the setting up of joint enterprises.

Present at the talks, which were held in a businesslike and constructive spirit, were Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department, and V.N. Ignatov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom.

Continuing Reverberations of Irangate Seen
PM211323 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88
First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan report: "Saga of Deceit"]

[Text] Washington—As already reported, R. McFarlane, former presidential national security adviser, pleaded guilty to four charges listed in an indictment filed by special prosecutor L. Walsh in the U.S. District Federal Court. All these charges are connected with established facts of concealment from the U.S. Congress of the truth about deliveries of arms to Iran and the diversion of the receipts for military aid, which was banned at that time, to the Nicaraguan contras.

Theoretically, McFarlane could receive up to 4 years' imprisonment and a fine of up to \$400,000. But he is threatened by neither. U.S. jurisprudence is not only liberal with respect to prominent criminals but offers them a mass of loopholes: for example, in the form of the right to plea bargaining—a promise to assist in establishing the truth in exchange for a less harsh punishment or complete absolution from sins. McFarlane did precisely this, coming to an unusual agreement with prosecutor Walsh which envisages "full cooperation" in the continuing investigation of the shady deal and as "compensation" freeing him from the more serious accusations threatening long-term imprisonment.

The former presidential adviser was the lead player in the scandalous operation which caused the most serious political crisis of the Reagan administration. The special prosecutor is continuing the investigation into the subject of establishing the guilt of Admiral J. Poindexter, who replaced McFarlane in this post, and also Lieutenant Colonel O. North. Judging by reports, plenty of evidence has been collected of their criminal machinations. But there is no sign of a conclusion, which automatically makes one think that the intention is to drag out the matter and so play down the story, which demeans Americans and has raised extremely acutely the question of trust in the institutions of power.

The fact that the White House practically created "a government within a government" which conducted its underground foreign policy in violation of U.S. laws and the Constitution has demonstrated the worth of both U.S. "democracy" and Washington's standard assurances of "respect for the people's will." Moreover, U.S.

Vice-president G. Bush, who is seeking the Republican Party presidential nomination, still cannot shake off questions connected with "Irangate." As the CBS television company reported, although, according to a poll, at next Tuesday's Illinois primaries the majority of voters will give their preference to Bush rather than to Senator Dole, this same majority is not satisfied with the vice-president's public explanations about his role in "Irangate."

Be that as it may, the shady deal which spilled over into the newspapers has revived the dispute which had apparently died down on ways and means of conducting U.S. foreign policy.

The sleeping dragon of the shady "Iran-contras" affair has once again reared its head and singed the Reagan administration.

IZVESTIYA Reports on U.S. Election Campaign
PM171105 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 88
Morning Edition pp 4-5

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch under the rubric "United States: The Preelection Marathon": "The Compass Is Pointing South"]

[Text] Washington—The needle of the compass in the U.S. presidential campaign is pointing south. Although on "Super Tuesday," 8 March, primaries were held in a number of states, the main attention was focused on 11 states in the South. The South is traditionally regarded as a kind of barometer in assessing the alignment of the preelection forces. There is even a saying: In the presidential elections, the country goes where the South goes. Since 1956 the candidate who received the biggest number of votes in the 11 Southern states has entered the White House.

It is, of course, too early to guess whether the "Southern formula" will apply in 1988, but two of the contenders have already chalked up considerable gains in the course of the preelection campaign. The purpose of the primaries is to gain the support, and consequently the votes, of the delegates elected to attend the party conventions. At the current stage, one-third of those who will have the right to vote at the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic Parties has already been determined.

The present contenders in the preelection marathon had to elaborate a dual strategy, as it were—a national strategy, and one taking account of the regional interests of the South. The Republicans have set their sights on the suburban residential areas of major cities. These are mainly "white enclaves" with a particularly active voter potential. The spirit of racial intolerance is particularly rife here. It was to this gallery that Robertson, a reactionary preacher standing on behalf of the Republican Party, was playing.

The Democrats have focused their search for votes on rural areas and big cities, where the black population is growing. They have tried to gain the support of both the whites and the blacks and the large groups of Hispanics. The number of the latter is growing, especially in Florida where, in the future, they could become the state's national majority. It was no accident that Dukakis, the Democratic contender, who speaks fluent Spanish, made special publicity appearances on local television.

I have talked to a number of public figures and journalists who have witnessed many presidential campaigns in the United States. In comparing them, they cite the growth of national minority voters as one of the main characteristic features of the current campaign. This is precisely what Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta, told me. The popularity and current success of the Democratic contender Jackson in the South derives from the activeness of the representatives of the black community in the United States. Blacks now total 31 percent of all voters in Mississippi, 23 percent in Alabama, and 24 and 27 percent in Georgia and Louisiana respectively. It is interesting that J. Jackson's supporters are not confined to black voters. Among those who support him some 82 percent are blacks and some 15 percent are whites. In the South Jackson had the support of 95 percent of black voters.

Another person I talked to was the famous U.S. scientist, public figure, and writer James MacGregor Burns from Williamstown (Massachusetts). He is an expert on U.S. election problems and has written books about F.D. Roosevelt and J. Kennedy. Professor Burns himself has been a delegate to a number of national Democratic Party conventions. He said that he sees no fundamental differences between the current preelection campaign and previous campaigns: The same preelection mechanism and the same election system is being used and, as in the past, money is playing a dominant role in the election process. However, there are a number of specific features at the current stage which are a result of the changing situation in the world as a whole. Speaking about the processes of democratization, restructuring, and glasnost in the Soviet Union, Professor Burns pointed out that they are profound processes which are making their mark. Unfortunately, he said, I have yet to see the contenders who seek nomination for the post of U.S. President react to these processes. Yet this is important in the assessment of their preelection stances.

It is obvious that the Republicans have two potential nominees—Vice President Bush and Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate. There is also Robertson. He puts off sensible voters by his extreme views, although he also attracts them by his typically "American" biography—a former "Golden Glove" boxing champion, he served with the Marines in Korea, among other places, and graduated from the prestigious Yale University. Since his ordination he has been running the popular "Club-700" religious television broadcasts.

However, lately other aspects of his biography have come to light. It has been claimed, for instance, that thanks to the connections and protection of his father, a well-known conservative senator at the time, Robertson was kept "as far from the frontline as possible" in Korea. Lately, Robertson has been talking a lot of nonsense. Among other things about the presence of "Soviet nuclear weapons in Cuba." As conservative an ideologue as Richard Viguerie has admitted: "Robertson's nomination would shift the U.S. political axis sharply to the right." This obviously represented the voters' main misgiving, although the number of votes which he won in the South shows that many people there share his views.

Bush's personality is judged by his activities as U.S. vice president. Many people frequently criticize him but at the same time they acknowledge his consistency in political work. He is regarded as a leader with "solid qualities." His experience as a leading statesman is taken into account. Bush is further credited with his stance in support of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. As for his success in the South, it is being ascribed to the fact that "he has been Reagan's vice president for 7 years," and Reagan continues to enjoy great popularity among the Republicans in the South.

The activities of the other Republican—Dole—are judged by his long-standing work in Congress. Attention is being drawn to his personal qualities—his skill in conducting polemics, resourcefulness, and sharp wit. Dole, just like Bush, is a World War II veteran. He was seriously wounded. On the other hand, he is being accused of inconsistency and passiveness.

After "Super Tuesday," Republican Jack Kemp, who came fourth, dropped out of the race.

As for the Democratic team, the distances between the individual contenders have narrowed in the current preelection marathon. Until quite recently Senator Gore was far behind the negro leader Jesse Jackson, Massachusetts Governor Dukakis, and Congressman Gephardt. However, at present he has overtaken Gephardt.

Gore is young. He is 39. At first the journalists were sarcastic: "Is the United States ready for a child-president?" But then they started admitting that the "boy is going a long way." Gore is finding support among those who have succumbed to the hypnotic idea of a "strong America." This philosophy has put down deep roots in the United States and clouded quite a few heads. Gore is trying to present himself as a "strong leader" and on a whole series of points his utterances do not diverge from the views of the extreme conservatives among the Republicans. Furthermore, Gore comes from the South and this has helped his headway during the recent primaries, especially in his home state of Tennessee.

While Jesse Jackson is known nationally, Governor Dukakis and Congressman Gephardt and, indeed, Senator Gore, are building up their political image in the course of the current campaign.

Dukakis, who has won an impressive victory in the South, is being described as a "liberal." In his preelection campaign he is placing emphasis on economic growth and has put forward a program to ensure employment and vocational training aimed at reducing unemployment. Among the Democrats, Dukakis has the biggest financial resources—\$13.5 million. Dukakis' wife, who is Jewish, has been able to secure for him a certain amount of political and financial support from influential circles in the U.S. Jewish community.

And finally there is the last Democratic presidential contender—Missouri Congressman Richard Gephardt. At the beginning of the campaign he was described as a "dark horse." But now Gephardt is gaining in popularity. Gephardt has made support for the Trade Act, which has a clearly pronounced protectionist thrust, the cornerstone of his election campaign. As a result he has been dubbed "the one-problem contender." However, this problem is so important today in the United States, which is losing out in the competition for markets in West Europe, and especially Japan, that Gephardt has gained a lot of supporters. He has promised the voters "to rectify the abnormal situation."

All the contenders are making all sorts of promises. However, an analysis of their policy statements produces a general picture: No one, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans, has put forward a serious alternative which would constructively counter the current economic policy of the administration.

In questions of military policy and arms control no candidate denies the need for a "strong defense" of the United States or rejects the idea of a "strong America." However, the overwhelming majority of the contenders, and especially the Democratic contenders, disagree on these issues with the extreme course that is being advocated by the preacher Robertson and that was advocated by Congressman Kemp. The latter's creed was: "While reducing build up U.S. military might." [sentence as published] Gore has been talking a lot about "national defense," and "U.S. security" lately, clearly in an effort to gain the reputation of a "strong man" in the eyes of the voters and thus to compensate for his youth. Dole was wavering on the issue of the reduction of U.S. military programs for a long time. He was slow to define his attitude to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, but lately, albeit cautiously, (clearly out of fear of losing votes) he has nonetheless expressed support for the arms control program.

The other contenders favor either freezing military expenditure at the present level or reducing it. They support the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the subsequent accords

reached between our two countries. This is an important trend. It shows that arms control has become part of the current presidential campaign. This distinguishes it from all previous ones. The new situation in the world is forcing politicians to take a new look at many things. And what is even more important is that voters' way of thinking is changing. They prefer to back sensible rather than strong leaders.

Vilkhovyy Resumes Attack on American 'Smuggler'
AU141224 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA
in Ukrainian 6 Mar 88 p 3

[P. Vilkhovyy's "Mail Review": "After the Interview on the Sly"—boldface as published]

[Excerpts] On 13 November 1987 our paper published a report entitled "The Interview on the Sly" which discussed the ignoble operations of "Mister Slavko" and "Mister Myron"—the inhabitants of Lvov V. Chornovil and M. Horyn. At one time they committed crimes, were sentenced, and now, having returned to their native city, have not joined the city laborers in socially useful work, but have assumed the pose of "defenders of the nation," and set about distorting Soviet reality. In particular, in the interview given to the American emissary, Martha Kolomyiets, an interview that the latter tried to smuggle out of the country, they extolled in every way possible the so-called "World Congress of Free Ukrainians," the OUN-ite [OUN—Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] and other anti-Soviet centers. They called on those centers to "pay more attention to the problems of the Ukraine," although they knew perfectly well that, among leaders of those reactionary emigre groups, there were numerous former Gestapo henchmen, Banderites, Melnykites [Bandera, Melnyk—former Ukrainian national leaders] and other gangsters who caused the working people of the western Ukraine to suffer bitterly.

Soon after the publication of the report on "Mister Slavko" and "Mister Myron" in RADYANSKA UKRAINA, the Lvov television studio showed the videorecorded interview, taken away from the American emissary, in one of its documentary broadcasts. Since that time, our paper has been receiving letters in response to the show.

Hero of the Soviet Union V.D. Petryuk from Lvov read the report and saw the television documentary. "I got upset," Vasyl Demydovych wrote. "The recollections irritated the soul, reopened old soldier's wounds. How I would like to gather my comrades in arms together and to write a letter to the overseas 'champions of human rights,' a letter composed in the unforgettable style used by Zaporozhye Cossacks [allusion to I. Repin's printing of Cossacks writing a rude letter to the sultan]. Alas, most of them fell on the long road to victory...." [passage omitted]

One cannot read without emotion the letter sent to the editorial board by Z.P. Kirsova (Kulyk). While wrathfully condemning V. Chornovil and M. Horyn's attempts to justify the OUN-ites, she told how those gangsters burst into the house near Drohobych on a June evening in 1946, and cruelly killed her mother and two sisters: 10-year-old Maria and little Aniziya. And a year later they also killed the father, Soviet activist Petro Ivanovych Kulyk.

"The OUN-ites thought," Zinoviya Petrivna wrote, "that, having killed the parents, they would kill our family's spirit. But the Soviet authorities took us under their protection. They have brought up seven orphans, have given us all secondary and higher education, and happy lives. [passage omitted]"

A response on the publication RADYANSKA UKRAINA has also come from V. Chornovil. Having referred to "public affairs overburdening him," he promised to give a "substantial reply" to our column "The Anatomy of Anticommunism" some time later; for the time being he restricted himself to cynical abuse addressed to the newspaper, and called this abuse "some theses of my future reply."

A letter from New York also arrived recently. Indeed, from Martha Kolomiychuk. She is offended and tries to deny things: Never in her life has she been engaged in smuggling. But Borispol customs officers seized a small videotape with the recorded interview, gold objects, dollars and forints which she hid and did not declare. What do you call that, Miss Martha?

The American emissary feels offended: What sort of democracy do you have in the Ukraine—before Chornovil could say a word in defense of the OUN and the so-called UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army], the press launched formidable attacks against him? Yet over there in Moscow, she has heard, there are even plans to publish the works of blatant anticommunist Gumilev!

What can one say here?

Miss Martha, ask Zinoviya Petrivna Kirsova and Volodymyr Stepanovych Hrohoza, whose letters we cited here, and many, very many families living in the western Ukraine, their opinion.... They will tell you: We have fought and will fight anticommunists uncompromisingly.... And the OUN and the UPA are fratricides with the stains of the blood of our fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters on their hands and souls.... The blood of the thousands of innocent old and gray people and little children... They are bloody criminals! Our Ukrainian people will never forgive them that!

Villagers Demand Extradition of 'Hangman'
AU180848 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
12 Mar 88 p 3

[Report by K. Chavaga, special RATAU correspondent in Radekhov, Lvov Oblast: "The Hangman Should Face the People's Court"—boldface as published]

[Excerpts] **The participants in a meeting at Oglyadov village in Radekhovski Rayon, Lvov Oblast, have demanded from the prime minister of Canada, B. Mulroney, that the traitor to the homeland and war criminal Ivan Stetsiv be extradited to Soviet justice.**

The bloody past of the hangman and traitor, the speakers said, is closely intertwined with the policy that was hostile to man pursued by the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists]. Late in 1939, when the west Ukrainian working people's dream of reunification with the Soviet Ukraine integrated in the USSR came true, double-dyed nationalist I. Stetsiv fled to Poland occupied by the Nazis. There he voluntarily joined a military formation, the so-called "Ukrainian Legion." And, shortly after, in the ranks of Hitlerite troops the traitor participated in battles against the Red Army.

"I. Stetsiv turned up in his native village of Oglyadov again in the spring of 1942," A.V. Melnik said. "He wore a German uniform and carried a carbine and a pistol. The werewolf boasted that he had been trained in a Hitlerite subversion school and had participated in the firing squad for the cadets of the military school in Peremyshl.

"The traitor enrolled new members in the OUN's ranks and from them formed a profascist gang to spearhead in it, under the code name Riy, 'the so-called Security Service'." [passage omitted]

Many fascist henchmen and traitors to the Ukrainian people have already been punished. But there are quite a few who have managed to evade the people's punishment and to find sponsors in the West. I. Stetsiv, in particular, has found refuge in Canada. This arouses legitimate indignation among the Soviet people. They cannot understand how the governments of countries signatory to documents calling for the punishment of war criminals can tolerate those hangmen strolling about freely in their countries.

The message addressed to the prime minister of Canada by the meeting's participants reads: "The time separating us from World War II is growing longer every day, but the bitter pain caused by the loss of relatives and close friends, deprived of their lives by the Nazis and their henchmen, does not subside even now. The International Tribunal in Nuremberg demanded punishment for crimes against humanity. But even now not all the criminals have been brought to account. One of them is Ivan Stetsiv who was born in our village in 1916, was in Nazi service, and now lives in Canada....

"We inhabitants of Oglyadov village, in which the Hitlerite henchmen and OUN-ite gangster perpetrated his crimes, request you, Mister Prime Minister, to extradite criminal Stetsiv to Soviet justice. We hope that, guided by the 1943 Moscow declaration, by the decisions of the Crimean and Potsdam conferences, and by other legal

acts, you and your country that participated in the anti-Hitlerite coalition will consider our request with understanding, and will not permit the Nazi war criminal to evade punishment."

China

CPC CC Plenum Urges Deepening of Reforms

Zhao Ziyang Address

PM211417 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88
First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CPC Central Committee Plenum Opens"]

[Text] Beijing, 15 Mar—According to XINHUA, a scheduled CPC Central Committee plenum opened here today and was addressed by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. The party's main task now, he said, is to fully realize the predominant role played by reform in all party work and mobilize the people to implement the 13th CPC Congress decisions. His report touched on questions of the country's economic situation, party building, and the democratization of Chinese public life. In particular, it raised the questions of accelerating the development of maritime regions and drawing up a draft law on nationally owned industrial enterprises.

Plenum Concludes

PM171457 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "CPC Central Committee Plenum Ended"]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Mar—The 2d Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 13th Convocation, closed here today. The information report carried by XINHUA states that the plenum urged all CPC members to continue implementing the party's fundamental leading line elaborated by the 14th CPC Congress, to accelerate party building, to rally the peoples of all the country's nationalities, to do away with formalism in thinking, to deepen and accelerate the reforms, and to strive for the further broadening of China's ties with the outside world and for the national economy's stable development.

The plenum approved the report which Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, delivered on behalf of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, as well as the CPC Central Committee Politburo's activity in implementing the 13th party congress decisions.

The plenum approved a list of candidates for leading state posts which will be submitted for consideration to the upcoming First Session of the National People's Congress, Seventh Convocation, as well as a list of candidates for leading posts on the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

PRC, SRV Statements Cited on Islands Conflict OW181314 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Both the Vietnamese and the Chinese Foreign Ministries issued statements on the 14 March incidents in Truong Sa Archipelago and Nansha Islands.

According to the statement issued by the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, Chinese warships fired at and damaged three Vietnamese ships. One of the damaged ships was a rescue vessel flying a Red Cross flag, which went there to rescue the other two ships. Since the Chinese Navy blocked Vietnamese rescue of the crew members from the damaged ships, the Vietnamese side was compelled to fire back. As a result, the Chinese Foreign Ministry admitted that some Chinese personnel were wounded.

At the same time, a statement issued by the Chinese Foreign Ministry pointed out that new conflicts had repeatedly broken out in the region since Monday.

In their statements, both the Vietnamese and the Chinese Foreign Ministries reiterated their countries' sovereignty over the Truong Sa Archipelago and Nansha Islands. The tension occurred in the region after China sent 15 warships there in January and February.

RENMIN RIBAO on Gorbachev SFRY Visit

PM221011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Second Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS roundup dated 19 March: "Broad Support, Universal Interest"]

[Excerpts] M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the SFRY has brought the entire range of Soviet-Yugoslav relations to new heights, foreign comments summing up the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's stay in Yugoslavia point out. Commenting on the Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration, prominent statesmen and public figures and the mass media of many countries note that this important document attests to the desire of the two socialist countries to continue improving cooperation, to enrich its substance, and to efficiently promote the creation of a more secure and just world. The new Soviet peace initiatives concerning the Mediterranean are continuing to receive broad support. [passage omitted]

Beijing—The newspaper RENMIN RIBAO states: "While in Yugoslavia M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the democratization of international relations is a command of the times demanding the participation of all countries in resolving major international problems. In this connection the Soviet leader advanced new proposals aimed at easing tension in the Mediterranean region. The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that democratization requires, above all, the international community's unconditional recognition of every people's right to choose its own destiny and its right to

control its own resources. Each people has its own interests not subordinate to the interests of other states. He emphasized that democratization means involving all states in resolving the most important present-day problems. The times are over when a handful of great powers decide things for the whole world and divide it up into spheres of influence in accordance with the law of the fist. No one, whether in London or Washington, Paris or Moscow, can now decide any major international issue without taking into account the opinion of other countries." [passage omitted]

Li Peng Supports Palestinian 'Struggle'

*LD211724 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT
21 Mar 88*

[Text] Beijing March 21 TASS—China supports the righteous struggle waged by the Palestinians and the peoples of the Arab states against Israel's policy, said Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, acting premier of the PRC State Council.

Addressing the meeting here with the delegation of the "Committee of the Seven" of the League of Arab States, the Chinese leader condemned the policy of terror and violence pursued by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab territories.

Being a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, China will further make efforts for giving assistance to the Palestinians fighting for the exercise of their legitimate national rights.

We favour the speediest convocation of an international conference on a just settlement of the Middle East problem, he emphasised.

River Navigation Conference With PRC Ends

Protocol Signed

*PM221259 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Morning Edition p4*

[TASS report: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] A scheduled conference of the joint Soviet-Chinese commission on navigation in the border regions of rivers in the Amur basin has come to a close in Harbin (the PRC). The sides discussed questions of further improving navigation safety and coordinated a significant volume of work to be done on the waterways, which will make it possible to improve navigation conditions on border waterways. A corresponding protocol was signed.

Work Plan Approved

*OW170800 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
1500 GMT 13 Mar 88*

[Text] The 30th Session of the Soviet-Chinese joint committee on navigation in border rivers ended its work on 12 March. This was a routine meeting held in Harbin. The two sides exchanged reports on last year's navigation, approved the work plan for this year, and discussed measures to promote further navigation safety. The two sides agreed to conduct a joint inspection of the main navigation channel and to observe how the navigation rules are observed.

The committee's next meeting will be held in Khabarovsk.

Soviet-Chinese Border Trade Reported

*OW191319 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
1500 GMT 15 Mar 88*

[Text] SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA has published a report by the newspaper's reporter in Blagoveshchensk City in the Soviet Far East. The report is about Soviet-Chinese border trade in that area. Blagoveshchensk and Khabarovsk cities are now connected to China's Tongjiang and Heihe by the Amur River, the border river of the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet Union has supplied China through the waterway with timbers, construction materials, mineral fertilizers, and other commodities. China has also supplied the Soviet Union through the waterway with agricultural products and light industrial products. The report said: A border trade protocol between the Soviet Union's Amur Oblast and Heihe of China's Heilongjiang Province was recently signed in Blagoveshchensk. In the past 5 years, trade volume between Heilongjiang Province and the Soviet Far East has increased by 3.4 times, while the number of categories of commodities has increased from 10 to 200.

Science-Technology Delegation Leaves for PRC

*OW191233 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
1500 GMT 17 Mar 88*

[Text] At the invitation of China's State Science and Technology Commission, a Soviet science and technology delegation has left Moscow for Beijing. The delegation is headed by (Zhordaniya,) chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology of the Georgian SSR. During its visit to China, the delegation will study Guangdong Province's achievements in science and technology, and exchange views with Guangdong Province on establishing scientific and technological cooperation with the province.

PRC Sets National Basic Literacy Goals

*PM171441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 3*

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "2,000 Characters"]

[Text] The PRC State Council has announced a national literacy campaign. According to a poll taken in 1982, 23 percent of the country is illiterate.

The State Council has set two levels of literacy: A peasant should be able to read not fewer than 1,500 characters, while a city-dweller should be acquainted with 2,000. This will permit people to read newspapers and conduct basic correspondence.

Briefs

New Edition of Gorbachev Book

Beijing March 16 TASS—The newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, today published a report on the translation into Chinese and brought out by the Xinhua Publishing House of the Book "Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World" by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. This is the second edition of Gorbachev's book in the People's Republic of China. It was recently brought out by the Shijie Zhishi Publishers. [Excerpt] [LD170223 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 16 Mar 88]

Northeast Asia

Yakovlev Completes Visit to Mongolia

PM220949 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Working Visit Completed"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 18 Mar—A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is here on a working visit at the invitation of the MPRP Central Committee, finished his trip to the Central Aymag today and familiarized himself with the city of Dzuunmod.

This aymag holds a leading place in the Republic for the production of crop-farming and livestock-farming output. A number of major state mechanized livestock units and mechanized dairy farms built with Soviet aid, whose output goes to the inhabitants of the Mongolian capital, have been set up here.

In the course of a conversation which took place in the MPRP aymag committee, the Soviet guest was told about the introduction of new management methods, the fulfillment of the socioeconomic development program, and work with cadres. It was noted that forces and funds must be concentrated on the primary resolution of social questions and the strengthening of the sector's feed and material and technical base in order to accelerate agricultural development in the aymag and in the republic as a whole.

A.N. Yakovlev inquired about the life and living conditions of rural workers and visited a livestock farmer's yurt.

A meeting was held today at the MPRP Central Committee between the CPSU Central Committee secretary and the Republic's leading ideological workers. There was detailed discussion of the essence of the profound processes of the restructuring of Soviet society, the socioeconomic transformations in the country, and CPSU activity to provide ideological backup for the processes of renewal and to establish the new political thinking in international relations.

A meeting was held with the party-economic aktiv of Soviet organizations and establishments in Mongolia.

A.N. Yakovlev left Ulaanbaatar for home today. He was seen off at the Mongolian capital's airport by D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee; T. Namsray, member of the Politburo; T. Balhaajab, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee; and other officials.

The send-off party included V.I. Filippov, USSR charge d'affaires ad interim in Mongolia.

U.S.-ROK 'Team Spirit-88' Exercise Denounced

LD212125 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—TASS political news analyst Mikhail Yakovlev writes:

The supreme commander-in-chief of the Korean People's Army ordered that the Armed Forces of the DPRK, units of the People's Defence Troops and other Army units be alerted. These defensive measures have been taken by Pyongyang in connection with the fact that Washington and Seoul build up armed forces in the south of Korea and launched a provocative show of strength.

During the current U.S.-South Korean joint military exercises "Team Spirit-88", the Pentagon has been concentrating Army units and Air Force in the south of the Korean peninsula and adjacent areas. Nuclear-armed aircraft carrier forces are approaching the Korean coast. Despite U.S. statements, the aims of these exercises are far from "defensive". The danger of this show of strength is particularly high because of the fact that the dealing of a nuclear strike at an "enemy" is drilled during these exercises. This is shown by the use of F-16 aircraft and 300-mm guns capable of using nuclear charges.

Concern is also caused by the fact that these actions by Washington and Seoul were taken at a time when there appeared signs of a gradual easing of international tension, when the DPRK has been vigorously pressing for the solution of topical problems between the North and the South of Korea, and for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear weapon-free, peaceful zone. Pyongyang has been calling for the elimination of the state of military confrontation, for the removal of the danger of war, for the adoption of a non-aggression pact. For this

purpose it proposed to discuss questions of ending large-scale military exercises of the "Team Spirit" kind, to hold multilateral talks on arms reduction. This would undoubtedly open a road for a dialogue with the authorities, and also with broad sections of the population and representatives of political parties and organizations of South Korea to resolve a fundamental problem—Korea's unification on a peaceful, democratic basis.

But this road, apparently, does not suit the Washington authorities. They strive to continue heightening tension in the Korean peninsula, try to justify the actual occupation of the South of Korea by U.S. troops, to frustrate the peaceful initiatives of the DPRK and, in the long-run, to preserve South Korea as a reinforced place d'armes against the DPRK and other socialist Asian countries.

The current provocative actions of Washington and Seoul are quite justifiably regarded by the world public as an outright challenge to the DPRK and the Korean people, as a serious threat to peace in Asia and the whole world. Nevertheless, it is held in the Soviet Union that there is an opportunity not only to erase dangerous tension in the Korean peninsula but also to start the advance toward resolving the national problem of the entire Korean people.

DPRK Military Chief Orders 'Combat Posture'
SK220425 Moscow International Service in Korean
0930 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] The supreme commander of the People's Army of the DPRK has ordered the Army, Navy, Air Force, and the People's Security Forces to assume a combat posture [chontu taese].

According to what was indicated in an official report, this step was taken in connection with the extremely dangerous situation created as a result of the reckless provocations of the United States and South Korea.

Over the course of the "Team Spirit-88" military exercise staged by the United States and South Korea, the U.S. Army, airplanes and warships, which are equipped with nuclear weapons, have been assembled in the southern part of the Korean peninsula.

The report pointed out that this military exercise serves as a challenge to the DPRK and creates a serious threat to peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Gorbachev Thanks Japanese Children for Letter
LD220958 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0925 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo, 22 Mar (TASS)—Via the general consulate in the Japanese city of Osaka, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has conveyed his gratitude to a group of secondary school pupils from the village of (Etikawa), Shiga prefecture, for the letter

which they had sent to him. It expressed the desire to live in peace and good neighborliness with the USSR and asked the Soviet leader to spare no effort to avert nuclear war and destroy nuclear weapons on earth.

Takeshita Remarks on Defense Cause 'Concern'
LD211658 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

A statement made by Japan's Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita today caused serious concern of all who are interested in the easing of tension, in the lowering of the level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region. Addressing graduates of Japan's Academy of National Defence the head of the Japanese Government, who in this case spoke as supreme commander of Japan's "Self Defense Forces" actually declared not only for the unrestrained build up of Japan's military potential but also for using it against the "enemy" before Japan is attacked.

The KYODO TSUCHIN news agency reports the prime minister said that the efforts to build up Japan's "defence" potential must be aimed at arresting an aggression even before Japan is attacked or is involved in an armed conflict.

One is inclined to ask if the idea of dealing a so-called "preemptive strike" at an "enemy" is not being imposed on the Japanese armed force. Is this not the aim of the "defence" strategy of the Japanese military department whose essence is set out in the "plan of defence" it has just worked out? In that plan the emphasis is placed on deploying offensive arms at "forward bases", at active reacting and engaging the enemy. The five-year programme for the build up of Japan's armed forces in 1991-1995 is being drawn up with the aim at expanding Japan's combat potentials for dealing strikes at the enemy outside Japanese territory so as to prevent Japan's invasion. The question arises: How can all this go together with the pledge assumed under Japan's Constitution that "Japan renounces forever the use of war as a means of settling international disputes"?

The current Japanese premier, apparently, intends to continue the line of his predecessor who exhibited special zeal in the domain of militarist preparations. It is not enough for him that Japan's military expenditures surpassed the limit of one percent of the gross national product set by the previous governments. An ambitious aim is at the horizon: To raise Japan's military might to the level of its economic capabilities. It is not difficult to guess what this will mean. U.S. commander in chief for the forces in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Admiral Ronald Hays said the other day in the Senate that with taking into account the current rate of the yen, Japan has outstripped Britain, France and the FRG for the level of military expenditures and now rates third in the world

for the military spending. Speaking in the military academy in Washington, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defence Richard Armitage emphasized that inordinate demands to the build up of Japan's military expenditures can much rather adversely affect the situation in Asia. He said that those who demand the increase of Tokyo's military appropriations to, say, three percent of GNP, should realise what they bear in mind. Do they mean Japan's arming with nuclear weapons, its equipment with offensive potential, he asked. And he said he believed this would not increase security in Asia.

The unrestrained build up of Japan's military might combined with ambitious militaristic plans, far from consolidating the security in Asia, will undermine that security and strategic stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the whole world.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Continues Southeast Asian Tour

Further on SRV Visit

*PM221137 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and SRV foreign minister, has received I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is in Hanoi on a working visit. During the conversation, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and complete unity of views, the sides discussed topical issues concerning the current situation in the world, above all in Southeast Asia. Both sides highly appraised the dynamically developing political relations between the USSR and the SRV and their stronger collaboration in the international arena.

Nguyen Co Thach said that Vietnam welcomes the Soviet Union's active efforts aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war, ending the arms race, and ensuring lasting world peace. The Vietnamese side expressed its full solidarity with the 15 March 1988 Soviet Government statement on Afghanistan.

The Soviet side voiced the opinion that the course taken by Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to develop dialogue in the region and turn Southeast Asia into a zone of stability, good-neighborliness, and cooperation is an important component of the struggle for peace and security in Asia. It supported Vietnam's willingness to enter negotiations with the PRC to settle border disputes, including the question of Truong Sa or Spratly Islands.

Laos Foreign Minister

*LD220953 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT
22 Mar 88*

[Text] Vientiane March 22 TASS—Laotian Foreign Minister, Phoun Sipaseut Monday received Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev who was here in connection with consultations between the foreign ministries of the two countries.

During the meeting Sipaseut expressed profound satisfaction with the fruitful development of fraternal Soviet-Laotian relations and the complete concurrence of the positions of Laos and the Soviet Union on all the pressing international issues.

Laos, he said, supports the ideas of a nuclear-free and non-violent world, the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR and its program for ensuring peace and security in Asia and the Pacific.

The Soviet side expressed a high opinion of Laotian friends' efforts to settle the border conflict with Thailand and normalize Laotian-Thai relations.

The sides agreed that the constructive policy of the three countries of Indochina of seeking a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and an atmosphere of trust and cooperation meets the basic interests of all the nations situated in the region.

Rogachev and Khamphai Bouphe, first deputy foreign minister of Laos, on March 20 and 21 held political consultations during which they exchanged opinions on the situation in the world, first of all that in the Asian-Pacific region.

They also discussed various aspects of Soviet-Laotian cooperation, paying special attention to new forms of such cooperation and the need to remove factors holding back its development.

The consultations ended with the signature of a plan for cooperation between the foreign ministries of the two countries in 1988 and 1989.

Speaks With Cambodian Officials

*PM220941 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Unity of Views"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 17 Mar—Soviet-Cambodian political consultations have been held here between I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Dit Munti and Bo Rasi, PRK deputy foreign ministers.

A comparison of positions on the fundamental problems of the day reaffirmed the complete unity of their views. The Soviet side stated its support for the PRK's consistent efforts aimed at ensuring a political settlement of the conflict situation around Cambodia and establishing relations of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

The following Soviet-Cambodian documents were signed: an agreement between the Soviet and PRK Governments removing the requirement for citizens of the two countries to obtain entry visas, and a plan for cultural and scientific cooperation between the Soviet and PRK Governments in 1988-1990.

Arrives in Philippines

*LD220931 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT
22 Mar 88*

[Text] Manila March 22 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev arrived here today for political consultations with Philippine leaders.

He will have meetings with President Corazon Aquino, Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus and other Philippine statesmen.

The Soviet visitor was welcomed at the Manila International Airport by Manuel Yan, first deputy foreign minister of the Philippines, O. Sokolov, ambassador of the USSR to this country, and other officials.

Cambodian 'Solution' Discussed in Phnom Penh

*BK201154 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1330 GMT 20 Mar 88*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The representatives of the Soviet Union, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos met in Phnom Penh to discuss a solution to the Cambodian problem and the situation in Southeast Asia. The positive changes in the solution to the Cambodian problem and the success in the implementation of a national reconciliation in Cambodia have attracted people's attention. Participants in the meeting were in favor of continued talks between Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, our observer writes.

We would like to recall that two rounds of talks between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk have already taken place within the framework of the national reconciliation policy. The talks, held in December and January in France, resulted in important agreements, first of all on the means to resolve the conflict in Cambodia. It is the Cambodian people themselves who should hold talks among various opposing groups to move toward national reconciliation. Observers consider the meeting between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk a good opportunity to solve the Cambodian problem, which for many years has had a

negative influence on the situation in Southeast Asia, and as a measure to break the deadlock. One or two rounds of talks cannot resolve all the problems related to the conflict. Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk have agreed to continue talks. However, this constructive policy has met with opposition from a number of forces. This opposition is manifested chiefly in the maneuvers carried out around the agreement between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Some people have raised this opposition with the intention of hindering continued talks.

Phnom Penh has received with joy the news that affirms Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's intention to continue the talks. In a message addressed to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Comrade Hun Sen noted: I understand the problems the Samdech is facing. In continuing to seek the Cambodian people's supreme interest and in the interest of peace in the region, I believe that both of us, Samdech and I, will surmount all difficulties on the path toward resuming the talks. Comrade Hun Sen appealed to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to show patience and resilience in resolving the conflict, which would help to end the Cambodian people's suffering. The comrade denounced the attitude of some who want to make profit from the blood and tears shed by the Cambodian people.

On this occasion, special attention was paid to an article in the SUNDAY TIMES magazine in Britain. The magazine writes that the Pol Pot group, which is responsible for genocide similar to Hitler's, as a military threat, has caused great worries. The magazine cites a West German volunteer doctor named (Rand Hartstram) in Cambodian refugee camps in Thailand. He said: I must deal with the consequences resulting from the Pol Pot clique's tortures. And now these murderers have been recognized by the international community.

Problems and obstacles on the path toward resolving the Cambodian issue abound, but one believes that they can be surmounted. The success of the national reconciliation policy in Cambodia and the support of foreign countries have clearly testified to this. At the meeting in Phnom Penh, the representatives of the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Laos said they will continue to assist in the search for a solution to the Cambodian problem.

Cambodia's Chea Sim Discusses Reconciliation

*BK130456 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1330 GMT 12 Mar 88*

[Text] Since the PRK Government proclaimed the national reconciliation policy, the situation inside and around Cambodia has improved. This was stated by Comrade Chea Sim, member of the Political Bureau of the KPRP [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and chairman of the National Assembly and of the KUFNCD [Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense] National Council.

In an interview granted to a TASS correspondent in Phnom Penh, Comrade Chea Sim further said that the people have more confidence in the party as a leading force in rebuilding and reviving the nation and defending revolutionary gains. The international public has further clearly realized our sincere desire of wanting peace in Southeast Asia and the whole world. The national reconciliation policy relies on the firmness of the revolutionary people's authority, which is at present comfortably set up throughout the country. When drafting this policy, the KPRP and the PRK Government first of all considered the Cambodian people's interests.

Comrade Chea Sim added: Our aim is to rally every patriotic Cambodian, both inside the country and abroad, to build a progressive society based on equality and justice. In accordance with this policy, Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, held two round of talks with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. These talks received great attention throughout the world because the parties taking part in the talks discussed the way to bring the Cambodian problem out of the impasse created by Cambodian and international reactionaries. There was certainly progress at these two rounds of talks toward finding a correct solution to the Cambodian problem, a solution which would preclude absolutely the recurrence of the genocidal Pol Pot regime. The results of the talks reflected the success of the national reconciliation policy.

However, this is only the first step, Comrade Chea Sim pointed out. At the current stage, the talks are only bilateral. Some opposing sides still try to prevent the progress of these talks through every means. Furthermore, international reaction has provided successive assistance to various opposing forces. This way, they are pushing toward the continuation of the bloodshed. We must expend a lot of effort to clear the way toward resolving the problem peacefully and politically.

This was said in conclusion by Comrade Chea Sim, member of the Political Bureau of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK National Assembly in an interview with a TASS correspondent in Phnom Penh.

Perfilyev Supports Vietnam on Islands

*BK181458 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese
1430 GMT 18 Mar 88*

[Text] Speaking at a 17 March news conference held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Center on events in the Truong Sa [Spratly] Archipelago, Comrade Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Department, said: Over the past few days, there have been news reports on the growing tension around various islands, particularly the Truong Sa Archipelago, in the Eastern Sea area.

It is known to everyone that on 17 March the SRV Foreign Ministry sent a note to its PRC counterpart, expressing Vietnam's readiness to hold talks with the PRC to solve differences over border problems, including the problem of the Truong Sa Archipelago. Vietnam proposed that the SRV and the PRC designate delegations and agree on the level, timing, and venue for the talks. Pending the start of the process, Vietnam proposed that the two sides refrain from using force to solve the dispute.

Comrade Perfilyev emphasized: We support the diplomatic initiative of the SRV. This initiative reflects the good will of the Vietnamese side and its desire for solving all outstanding issues through peaceful negotiations for the sake of peace in the region.

We welcome the idea of solving all the complicated problems in the relations between nations on the basis of calculated moves. We also support the idea of practicing self-restraint to avoid incidents that may complicate the Southeast Asian situation and oppose the use of military force for solving territorial disputes.

Vietnam Issues Private Entrepreneurs Decision

*LD221202 Moscow TASS in English
1130 GMT 22 Mar 88*

[Text] Hanoi March 22 TASS—Individual and private ventures are part and parcel of the country's economy. They preserve their significance for a long period as a factor for the development of industrial production, resolution of the tasks pertaining to building the material base of the fundamentals of socialism.

This is stressed in the decision of the SRV Council of Ministers issued today on policy vis-a-vis the individual and private enterprises in the field of industry, construction and transport. The state, the decision says, encourages a broadening of their production and economic activities, guarantees for the owners of such enterprises the right of ownership and succession. The administrative bodies, the decision says, exercise control over the work of individual and private enterprises to ensure the observance of laws by them. At the same time no interference is allowed in the production-management field on condition that such enterprises observe the provisions of the law.

The decision determines the order of the hiring of manpower to individual and private enterprises. This is to be done on the basis of labour agreements securing the interests of the working people. Private enterprises are granted the right to use foreign currency, including bank credits to purchase abroad raw and primary materials necessary for increasing output.

Demichev Receives Lao Assembly Delegation
LD211140 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—Petr Demichev, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today received in the Kremlin a delegation from the Supreme People's Assembly of Laos led by Souvannalat Sai-Gnavong, vice-secretary-general of the assembly's standing committee.

During the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, note was taken of the successful development of Soviet-Laotian relations, including parliamentary contacts.

As pressing international problems were discussed, stress was made on the important role of Soviet initiatives made by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok and his interview with the newspaper MER-DEKA as regards a comprehensive resolution of the problems of the Asian-Pacific region.

"Perestroyka (restructuring) which has covered all aspects of life in Soviet society has made it possible to increase the role of soviets (governing councils) in dealing with the issues of socio-economic development and democratization," Demichev said.

"These issues will be discussed at the forthcoming 19th national party conference as well."

Sai-Gnavong spoke about the activities of the Laotian parliament and the tasks set to the nation by the 5th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party.

He briefed Demichev on the preparation of a new constitution of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the forthcoming general elections.

He said Soviet experience studied by the delegation during the visit would help realize those plans.

Near East & South Asia

Afghanistan Protests Pakistani 'Aggression'
LD211758 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 21 TASS—The BAKHTAR news agency reports that Pakistan's charges d'affaires to the Republic of Afghanistan was called today to the Foreign Ministry where the following was stated to him:

On March 17, 1988, three Afghan helicopters, when returning to Feyzabad airfield, were strafed with rockets fired by an F-16 Pakistani plane in Barg-e Matal area.

In connection with an act of aggression by the Pakistani Air Force, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan makes a resolute protest to Pakistan's Government and demands that appropriate bodies should refrain from repeating such actions that can only lead to the heightening of tension. Otherwise the Pakistani authorities will bear the responsibility for the serious consequences of such acts.

Afghan, Pakistani Figures Cited on Geneva Talks

National Front Leader Comments
LD211021 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 21 TASS—Last February's statements by the Afghan and Soviet leaders and the recent statements by the governments of the two countries on Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva have paved the way for the signature of Geneva accords, Abdurrahim Hatif, chairman of the Central Council of the National Front of Afghanistan, has said.

Speaking in an interview with the newspaper ANIS, he criticized Islamabad authorities for throwing up artificial obstacles in the way of Afghan-Pakistani talks conducted in Geneva through the U.N. secretary-general's personal envoy.

The Pakistani side's demand for forming a so-called interim government in Afghanistan before the withdrawal of Soviet troops as a condition for signing the agreements, he said, testified to the fact that Islamabad was not really interested in a true settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan.

Pakistani Opposition Statement
LD191734 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT
19 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 19 TASS—The Pakistani Government should give up its unfounded demands and sign an agreement with Afghanistan in Geneva. This has been stated by participants in a session of the regional executive committee of the People's National Party of Pakistan held in Peshawar, the BAKHTAR news agency reports with reference to the Pakistani newspaper SHAHZAB.

The latest statements of the Soviet and Afghan governments again clearly outlined the way towards the settlement. The highlights of the plan are the schedule of the return home of Soviet troops and the readiness of Kabul to create a coalition government with the participation of representatives of the opposition, the session pointed out. Resolute peace steps taken by Afghanistan and the USSR show their determination to achieve a peaceful settlement, while the stand assumed by Islamabad and extremist-minded opposition circles is at variance with commonsense.

The regional executive committee of the People's National Party pointed out that the fear of the reduction of Western aid in case of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the return home of Afghan refugees was a possible reason underlying a non-constructive stand of the Pakistani side. If Pakistan does not sign the Geneva agreements, it would be fraught with a threat of another internal political crisis in the country and one more outbreak of popular unrest, the session emphasized.

Afghanistan Sends Message to Islamic Conference
LD212226 Moscow TASS in English 2208 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 21 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of the Afghan Republic sent a message to participants in the conference of foreign ministers of countries participating in the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) which opened in Amman. As the BAKHTAR agency reports, the document says the following:

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan believes that now, as never before, the Islamic world needs to concentrate on tackling its most burning problems. The most serious problems to be discussed at the conference are problems of ensuring rights of much suffering Palestinian people, their liberation from oppression by the Zionist State of Israel, an end to the Israeli occupation of south Lebanon, an end to interference of other aggressive countries in the affairs of this Muslim state. The threat to the interests of Arab and Islamic countries developed as a result of the strategic alliance between Washington and Tel Aviv. An end to the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq is another important problem.

Afghanistan, one of OIC founders, seeks to have good relations with all Islamic states, including its neighbours—Iran and Pakistan.

The national reconciliation policy fully conforming to the principles of Islam is the only alternative to the war. This policy, a manifestation of the new thinking, has raised the international prestige of the Republic of Afghanistan. Visits by our representatives to 54 countries, including Islamic states, are a manifestation of goodwill and a desire for explaining the international community the noble aims of the national reconciliation policy.

The Afghan Muslim people link all their aspirations with the earliest establishment of peace throughout the country. The honest position of principle taken by the Afghan side at the Geneva talks shows a desire for a just settlement of the Afghanistan situation and favourable completion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks. Statements by the leaders of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, as well as statements by the governments of the two countries are a proof of this. But at the present stage of Geneva talks the Pakistani delegation, regrettably, is engaged in

raising artificial barriers. Pakistan and the United States delaying the signing of understandings, erroneously believe that a withdrawal of Soviet troops will start on May 15 all the same. Under the understandings reached earlier in Geneva, all documents, including the document on a withdrawal of the contingent of Soviet troops, will come into force 60 days after their signing. Therefore, those who interfere with this, also delay a withdrawal of Soviet troops. At the same time, there is still a chance for the victory of common sense, political realism and goodwill for making resolute steps towards each other.

The Republic of Afghanistan has always wished unity and solidarity to the Islamic world. The putting of the so-called Afghan question on the agenda is called upon to divert attention of the conference from pressing questions of Islamic states. Therefore, there is no logic in keeping apart our Islamic country from the Organization of Islamic Conference. The Foreign Ministry of the Afghan Republic is authorized to point out that any discussion of the so-called Afghan question at this conference is not only a violation of the OIC Charter and the U.N. Charter but also a crude interference in home affairs of our Islamic country.

New Envoy to Afghanistan Meets Najibullah
LD211810 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 21 TASS—USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Afghanistan, Nikolay Yegorychev, today presented his credentials to president of the Republic of Afghanistan, Najibullah.

Jordan's King Husayn Receives Soviet Envoy
LD191959 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT
19 Mar 88

[Text] Amman March 19 TASS—King Husayn of Jordan received today Mikhail Sytenko, Soviet ambassador at large. He handed over to the King a statement of the Soviet Government on Afghanistan. An exchange of views took place on the Afghan-Pakistani talks now under way in Geneva and on the need for achieving the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan as soon as possible. The King of Jordan expressed high appreciation of the stand of the Soviet Union and of its decision to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

Kamentsev Among Welcoming Party for Jordanian
PM221005 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Prime Minister Arrived"]

[Text] Z. al-Rifa'i, prime minister and defense minister of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, arrived in Moscow 18 March on a working visit.

He was met at the airport by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

The reception party included F.A.K. al-Tawil, Jordanian ambassador to the USSR, and the heads of the diplomatic missions of a number of Arab countries accredited in the USSR.

Further on Arab Delegation's Talks in Moscow

More on Shevardnadze Meeting

PM220935 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks With Arab League Delegation"]

[Text] On 18 March E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met with a delegation of the Arab League's "Committee of Seven" comprising Algerian Foreign Minister A.T. Ibrahim; Syrian Foreign Minister F. al-Shar; T. Sahbani, secretary of state to the Tunisian foreign minister; F. Qaddumi, leader of the PLO Political Department; and also C. Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League.

The delegation members provided information on the situation in the Near East in light of the Palestinians' general uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories. They spoke of the efforts being made by Arab countries to reach a just settlement in that region by means of convening an international conference.

The Soviet side expressed solidarity with the Palestinians' courageous struggle and resolutely condemned the repressive policy implemented by the Israeli authorities and the mass violations of human rights. It was emphasized that the Soviet Union will continue to follow the principled policy of supporting the just cause of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

The sides were unanimous that genuine peace can be achieved in the Near East only on the basis of an Israeli troop withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, the realization of the Palestinian people's national rights, including their right to self-determination, and the guarantee of the right of all the states and peoples of this region to a secure existence. The only reliable and realistic way to this is the convocation of an international conference with the participation of all the interested sides, including the PLO, and also the permanent Security Council members. It was pointed out that the conference must be a permanently operating forum, within whose framework talks will be held and mutually acceptable decisions adopted.

E.A. Shevardnadze briefed the delegation on Soviet-U.S. contacts with regard to a Near East settlement, including his recent talks with a personal representative of the U.S. secretary of state.

The participants in the talks voiced the opinion that the chief criterion in assessing the U.S. proposals must be how far they correspond to the task of reaching a comprehensive and lasting Near East settlement with due regard for the balance of the interests of all the sides involved in the conflict.

E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized the importance of the coordination of Arabs' actions and the formulation of a concerted approach among them with a view to beginning practical actions without delay to settle the conflict. The delegation members pointed out that the upcoming conference of Arab heads of state could play a positive role in this.

The sides advocated the speediest ending of the Iran-Iraq war on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598. E.A. Shevardnadze pointed out that the "war of the cities" is leading to escalating tension in relations between Iran and Iraq and hindering the efforts of the international community to channel the Iran-Iraq conflict toward a political settlement.

The Afghan question was touched on during the talks. E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed that the Soviet Union and the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan are fully resolved to strive for the speediest political settlement of the Afghan problem. The other sides—above all, the United States and Pakistan—must also behave constructively. The delegation members' attention was drawn to the Soviet Government statement of 15 March this year, which clearly indicates who is responsible for the delay over signing the Afghan-Pakistani agreements.

E.A. Shevardnadze also spoke of the other steps being taken by the Soviet Union to ensure stable peace and to consolidate positive trends in the international arena. The Arab countries' representatives made a high assessment of the USSR's peace-loving policy and declared that it enjoys the support of Arabs.

The meeting was held in a friendly, businesslike atmosphere.

Shevardnadze, Ibrahim Talks

PM211609 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ministers' Meeting"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met 18 March with A.T. Ibrahim, member of the National Liberation Front Politburo and Algerian foreign minister, who is in Moscow as a member of the delegation from the Arab League "Committee of Seven."

The ministers discussed certain pressing problems of international life. The coincidence of USSR and Algerian positions on many burning problems of the day on both a global and regional scale was noted with satisfaction.

A.T. Ibrahim was informed of the steps being taken in the nuclear disarmament sphere and of the prospects for the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. The Algerian minister stated Algeria's support for the Soviet Union's constructive initiatives designed to substantially reduce and ultimately eliminate nuclear arsenals and prevent the militarization of space. A.T. Ibrahim assessed highly the achievement of the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and expressed a desire for the successful completion of work on a treaty on strategic offensive arms.

E.A. Shevardnadze and A.T. Ibrahim confirmed both countries' desire to consolidate the positive trends which have emerged in the international situation and make further progress in radically improving this situation. The sides indicated the important role which the Non-aligned Movement and the rallying of all the planet's peace-loving forces could play in this process.

The ministers expressed confidence that changes in the disarmament sphere will create a favorable climate for progress in settling the regional conflicts which are causing pain and suffering to millions of people in various corners of the world.

The Algerian minister talked about the enterprising steps being taken by Algeria and other Arab states to convene an extraordinary Arab summit conference to examine the question of coordinating Arab efforts in support of the Palestinian population in the Israeli-occupied territories. The Soviet side expressed complete approval for such efforts designed to strengthen the solidarity of the Arab countries and peoples.

Mutual satisfaction at the high level of USSR-Algerian cooperation in various spheres and the desire to promote its further improvement in the interests of the two countries' peoples were expressed. The agreements and accords secured in the course of the Soviet-Algerian summit talks in March 1986, which imparted new dynamism to bilateral ties in various spheres, are the main guideline here.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Al-Shar' Views Talks

*LD202256 Moscow TASS in English 2156 GMT
20 Mar 88*

[Text] Damascus March 21 TASS—Today Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' who, as a member of an Arab League delegation, participated in talks with the

leadership of France, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, returned to the Syrian capital. The Arab foreign ministers who made up the delegation explained [to] officials of the countries, permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, [the] importance of the current uprising of Palestinian people on the occupied Arab territories.

Asked by a correspondent of the SANA agency, Faruq al-Shar' said that only in Moscow and Beijing delegation members had felt real solidarity with the struggling people of Palestine and support for the demands of Palestinians striving for implementation of their legitimate national rights. According to the minister, it became clear in Paris that the French and Arab points of view were close on several main issues. But London where the delegation was without the Syrian representative due to the fact that Britain had broken off diplomatic relations with Syria several years ago, did not want to listen attentively to the Arab point of view. The government of that country cannot wrest itself from the orbit of U.S. ideas up to this time, noted Al-Shar'.

The foreign minister said in conclusion that the Arab League would continue contacts with the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to step up international support for the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine.

Tajik Clergyman Protests Israeli 'Atrocities'

*LD161432 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT
16 Mar 88*

[Text] Dushanbe March 16 TASS—Imam Khatib Maslikhiddin Mukarramov [name as received], a prominent religious figure of Soviet Central Asia, has denounced the atrocities of Israeli invaders in the occupied Arab lands. He heads the mosque of Shaykh Maslikhiddin [name as received] in the city of Leninabad, the Soviet Republic of Tajikistan.

"Sacred books say that all the people in the earth are brothers and sisters. They should live in peace and respect each other", the Imam said in a TASS interview. At the same time, he pointed out that "by outraging the gift of life given to everyone by the Lord Israeli barbarians are trampling underfoot the main behest of Allah—never kill people. They sow destruction and death everywhere. The invaders kill and cripple defenseless children, women, old people and clergymen [words indistinct] commit sacrilege in sacred Moslem mosques. They deserve to be cursed and punished in the strictest possible way".

Imam Khatib Maslikhiddin Mukarramov said that Tajik Moslems were especially indignant over the latest inhuman actions of Israeli invaders that resulted in the death of Palestinian children in the Gaza sector, as well as over a blockade of the Ramallah area and other occupied lands that brought much suffering to the peaceful Arab population.

"The duty of every Moslem is to help the much-suffering Palestinian brothers and sisters to gain peace and national independence, to curb Israeli aggressors who not only insult the religious feelings, but also disregard the international law", he said. Khatib Maslikhiddin Mukarramov described as shameful the stand assumed by the overseas patrons of Israel who connive with the aggressors and hamper the attaining of a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem as soon as possible.

Gromyko Receives Algerian Envoy's Credentials
PM211631 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88
Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Algerian Ambassador's Credentials Received"]

[Text] "The Soviet Union has tremendous 'capital' in Algeria. This is the aid which your country gave us during the war of national liberation. Not one Algerian will ever forget your help," Mohamed Yala, new Algerian ambassador, emphasized this thought in a conversation after presenting his credentials. The friendly feelings characteristic of Soviet-Algerian relations were the theme of the entire ceremonial act.

On 16 March A.A. Gromyko received credentials in the Kremlin from this ambassador, accompanied by staffers from the Algerian Embassy in the USSR.

On presenting his credentials, the ambassador pointed out that the policy of huge transformations in the Soviet Union and our country's foreign policy efforts merit the highest assessment and enjoy the support of his republic and also that of all progressive forces on earth.

On behalf of the Algerian people and the Algerian leadership he expressed best wishes for success to the USSR leadership and for prosperity and well-being to all Soviet people.

Receiving the credentials, A.A. Gromyko stated:

I listened to your speech attentively and with satisfaction. Its kind words toward our country expressing the friendly feelings which the Algerian people and your republic's leadership cherish toward the Soviet people and the Soviet leadership are particularly attractive.

You personally and the other Algerian representatives present here will probably remember the delight with which Soviet people noted all the Algerian people's victories over the colonizers during the period of the struggle for independence.

The victory over them has long since become fact. The flag of an independent sovereign state flutters over Algeria. We delight in its people's every success in reinforcing their independence.

I think that there is every reason today for saying that our relations are becoming closer with every year and our friendship even stronger. This is not merely words, but is borne out by reality.

First, our bilateral relations, both in the political sphere and also in the economic sphere, are being strengthened year in, year out, day in, day out. Second, we are moving with your country in the same rank of fighters against the threat of nuclear war.

We have often seen Algeria's substantial contribution to the cause of the struggle for peace. This applies to broad forums—for instance the United Nations. And it also applies to narrower meetings, including those of a bilateral nature.

An impressive page was inscribed in the history of our relations in March 1986 when Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid, general secretary of the National Liberation Front, visited the Soviet Union. His talks with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev were very successful. I take the opportunity to emphasize this thought.

Algeria has made a substantial contribution to the cause of the nonaligned states' struggle for peace. Your country holds an active position in the nonaligned movement. Algeria's participation in African states' struggle for the freedom of the continent and against attempts by certain outside circles to hold its countries in bondage, including economic bondage, is weighty.

We are familiar with your activity in the Arab League. This activity is directed toward protecting the Arab peoples' legitimate rights, including those of the Arab people of Palestine. In the course of today's meeting I want to tell you that we will continue to actively support the Arab states who are struggling for their legitimate rights, including the Arab people of Palestine.

We also know that your country has a positive attitude to the Soviet Union's steps designed to reduce nuclear arms and to efforts which will lead ultimately to the elimination of nuclear weapons and their disappearance from the face of the earth. We value such recognition of our country's role and corresponding efforts.

Not so long ago the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed. This great event marked an important stage in the struggle for the elimination of nuclear weapons. Many colossal efforts will be needed to move forward along the path toward the complete destruction of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet people, the party—the leading force in society—and our whole country are fully determined to continue the struggle to remove the threat of a new war.

You can count on our readiness to continue to discuss with you questions which will be of interest to the Algerian Republic and the Soviet Union.

I wish you success in your new post and the fulfillment of your high honorable mission!

During his conversation with A.A. Gromyko, Ambassador Mohamed Yala described how Algeria is trying to maintain good-neighborly ties with all surrounding states. His country's government wants to give all Maghreb countries and other African states the opportunity to see that Algeria does not hold any enmity toward them and will develop friendly relations with them for the sake of peace in its own country and peace on the African continent.

T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and Rabah Souibssi, Algerian Embassy minister-counsellor in the USSR; were present during the conversation.

Maslyukov Concludes Delhi Trip, Leaves For Home

Received by Gandhi

*LD190957 Moscow TASS in English 0821 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] New Delhi March 19 TASS—Alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Chairman of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) of the USSR Yuriy Maslyukov stayed on a seven-day friendly working visit in India. He held negotiations with senior officials of a number of ministries and departments, including Finance Minister Narain Dutt Tiwari, Defence Minister Krishna Chandra Pant and Minister of Planning and Programme Implementation P. Shiv Shankar. He toured the country and familiarised himself with the work of a number of Indian industrial enterprises.

The day before his departure for home, he was received by India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Considered in the course of the talk were questions of Soviet-Indian cooperation in the light of developing the accords reached during the visits to India by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov. The sides expressed satisfaction with the course of implementation of the agreed upon programmes and noted the importance of further perfecting the forms of cooperation.

Yuriy Maslyukov left by air for Moscow today. At the airport he was seen off by ministers of the Indian Government and other officials. The USSR's ambassador in India Vasilii Rykov was among the seeing off party.

Greeted by Talyzin

*LD191912 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 19 Mar 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Maslyukov returned to Moscow from Delhi today. At the airport he was met by Comrade Talyzin and other officials.

Comrade Maslyukov was in India on a friendly, working visit. He held talks with the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, made a trip around the country, and acquainted himself with the work of a number of industrial enterprises. On the eve of his return home Comrade Maslyukov was received by Rajiv Gandhi.

Iranians Reportedly Attack Liberian Tanker

*LD202027 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT
20 Mar 88*

[Text] New York March 20 TASS—A Liberian tanker was today attacked in the southern part of the Persian Gulf. The almost 85,000-ton ballasted Atlantic Peace had as many as six holes above the waterline, AP reported. The assault started a fire that the crew quickly put out. At present, the ship is heading under its power for Sharjah principality, the United Arab Emirates.

It is reported that the tanker was hit by rocket-propelled grenades apparently fired by Iranian speedboats.

On Friday, Iranian gunboats attacked three other ships flying the flags of Panama, Norway and Singapore, with one seaman killed.

Iran's attacks on tankers in the Persian Gulf follow a blow-for-blow patterns of retaliation for Iraqi air raids on Iranian oil facilities, AP points out. Yesterday, Iraqi warplanes hit Iran's main oil terminal on Khark Island, damaging two and, possibly three, tankers.

Iranian, Iraqi Missile Strikes Reported 16 Mar

*LD161354 Moscow TASS in ENGLISH 1308 GMT
16 Mar 88*

[Text] Baghdad March 16 TASS—According to an official military spokesman, Iraq has fired another four missiles on Tehran today. As a result of the firing of Iranian missiles on Baghdad's residential neighbourhoods there were destructions and casualties among the civilian population of the city.

Over the past twenty-four hours, says the communique of the General Military Command, Iraqi fighter bombers flew 256, and helicopters 190 combat missions. Military and industrial facilities have been attacked in 17 Iranian cities, including Dezful, Kermanshah, Hamadan, Khorramabad, Qom, Khomeyn, Shahabad and Rasht. Areas

of enemy troop concentrations along the frontline came under the fire of missiles and bombs. Iraqi airforce planes hit a "big maritime target" near the Iranian coast.

The Iranian airforce and long-range artillery, the commune says, bombarded Basra and other Iraqi border cities.

Local fighting and artillery duels were fought on all sections of the front, in whose course the enemy suffered losses in manpower and materiel.

According to a report of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY from Nicosia, Iran fired four missiles on Baghdad in the morning today. Eleven tactical surface-to-surface missiles were fired on Basra and the areas of concentration of Iraqi troops on its outskirts.

The Iranian airforce launched missile and bombing strikes against military and economic facilities in the cities of Kirkuk, Al 'Amarah, Zobeydah and a number of other populated localities as well as on the Iraqi positions along the frontline.

In Al-Sulaymaniyah Province, units of the "Guards of the Islamic Revolution" are continuing on an offensive east of Kirkuk. Over the three days of fighting in that area, the agency said, 2,650 Iraqi servicemen were put out of action.

On Tuesday more than 70 Iranians were killed as a result of the missile attacks and airforce raids.

Iranian naval speedboats intercepted seven foreign ships in the Strait of Hormuz yesterday. After an inspection they were allowed to continue on their route. Iranian airforce planes are continuing on active reconnaissance flights over the Persian and Oman Gulfs.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopian Rebels Reject Offer of 'Dialogue'

PM211525 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent I. Tarutin dispatch: "'Former' People Take Up Arms"]

[Text] Addis Ababa—The military-political situation in the north of Ethiopia has deteriorated recently. I mean the autonomous provinces of Eritrea and Tigre, where separatist groupings have become more active. At one time they struggled actively against the revolution, but were routed.

However, even after the victory of people's power, some of the "former" people tried to continue their subversive activity. Thus, an illegal group of the "Ethiopian People's Democratic Alliance" headed by former feudal lords preparing an antigovernment coup was exposed in

Addis Ababa several years ago. Not that the enemies of the new power hiding in the cities or the bandits surviving on the periphery probably pose any special threat.

The Eritrean and Tigrean separatists, who have quite large military formations, are another matter. Enjoying aid from external forces and resorting to refined chauvinist propaganda, they are tangibly destabilizing the situation in the country's northern regions.

What accounts for the present exacerbation of the situation? I believe it is not accidental. Following the proclamation of the democratic republic last September, the Ethiopian leadership has taken a number of earnest steps to further resolve the national question, which is still quite acute. In particular, the first session of the new parliament—the Shengo—approved the granting of autonomous status to Eritrea and Tigre. The prospect was thereby opened of ending the years of conflict. All opponents of the present regime were invited to join in the "nation-building process."

However, as can be seen, their leaders have no desire for a dialogue.

Cooperation Plan Signed With Mali Party

PM220955 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Plan Signed"]

[Text] Bamako, 18 Mar—A plan for party ties between the CPSU and the Mali People's Democratic Union [UDPM] for 1988-1989 has been signed here. It provides for the exchange of delegations and information on the activity of the CPSU and the UDPM, contacts between party press organs, and cooperation in training cadres. It is stressed that the CPSU will send its delegations to Mali to familiarize itself with the activity of the UDPM in various spheres of national building and to exchange experience of party work. The CPSU will also give the UDPM assistance in training party press cadres.

We are delighted with the dynamic development of ties between the CPSU and the UDPM, Sekou Minandiou Traore, UDPM Central Executive Bureau secretary for foreign relations, stated at the signing ceremony. He stressed that the UDPM assesses highly the plans of the 27th CPSU Congress. The signing of the document on party cooperation is a new illustration of the stable friendly relations between the USSR and Mali.

East Europe

Gorbachev SFRY Visit Activities Reported

Mojsov 15 Mar Dinner Speech

PM161711 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88
Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on 15 March Belgrade dinner speech by L. Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, under the general heading: "In the Soviet Leader's Honor"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary!

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev!

Comrades!

The pleasant mission has fallen to me and gives me tremendous personal satisfaction to welcome you on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium and to wish you a pleasant stay in our country.

During your upcoming meetings and, of course, directly during the talks which we have already begun and to which we attach special significance, we would like to reveal to you the essence of our self-managing federal socialist system and also to demonstrate the efforts currently being made by our working people, the League of Communists, and all our peoples and ethnic groups. In short, we want you to familiarize yourselves more closely with our country, whose development is encountering resistance and stagnation phenomena, although it constantly seeks to advance, with a country of a socialist revolution which respects its gains and principles, remembers the sacrifices made, and knows how to value them in other countries.

Today we recall the joint struggle and the tremendous common losses during the years of World War II, and we recall the friendship tempered during those difficult days. The glorious days of the October Revolution will forever remain in our common memories—the unforgettable historical events in which many tens of thousands of Yugoslav revolutionaries, including a then young Josip Broz, also participated. Some of them, like Danilo Srdic and Oleko Dundic, were famous Red Army commanders. Not that we could ever expunge from our memory the words which Yugoslav Communists addressed to the peoples of Yugoslavia on the day of the attack on the Soviet Union, 22 June 1941, in their appeal to them to help the Soviet Union by all means in its struggle against the fascist aggressors, because it was inseparably linked with the struggle for their own freedom.

You will be able to feel how deeply rooted in our country are freedom, independence, fraternity, unity, socialist self-management, and nonalignment and how far the path indicated by Tito is a long-term course that has justified itself. Our common experience and convictions and the tasks facing us permit no alternative. While speaking frankly and critically of the many difficulties we are experiencing at the present stage of development, we also frankly state the essence of our immutable orientation on the long and complex path of building an increasingly free, just, and prosperous life for all the country's citizens.

The experience of others always enriches one's own thoughts. People in our country are following with great interest and truly great recognition the new processes taking place in the Soviet Union, in theory and practice, in life and labor activity. We value highly your personal

contribution, Comrade Gorbachev, to the treasure house of socialist thought and the practice of the democratic development of socialist social relations in the Soviet Union and to the efforts aimed at generally changing the climate in international relations. This, in our opinion, is the essence of the far-reaching transformations proclaimed by the policy of restructuring in your country.

We are also examining in the same way the processes taking place on a global scale both in the international arena and in other socialist countries. Any idea and, hence, each new design during the building of socialism is vital insofar as it leads to the most correct answers to the problems of concern to society under the specific conditions of the world surrounding us. This is the source of the richness of forms and experience, which helps socialism to develop as a world system on the basis of every people's continuous and inextinguishable desire to travel constantly along the path of freedom and self-assertion.

Under all circumstances and at every meeting we rightly emphasize the long-standing tradition of our relations, which, despite everything, have developed comprehensively and successfully for decades. We do this with considerable satisfaction and not without an important reason, since the principles which we jointly asserted during those distant years—1955 and 1956—in the Belgrade and Moscow Declarations remain the essence of this tradition and the basis and the driving force of all achievements. We confirm the truly lasting value of these universal principles now, on adopting a new declaration which simultaneously reflects our views both on future relations and on the paths leading to peace, security, and progress.

What we have achieved in our relations enables us to recall frankly and with due respect for the experience and lessons of the past the difficult period 4 decades ago to state with a sense of responsibility and satisfaction that the theses on the equality of states, peoples, and parties and on the right of every people to choose its own path of development and of every party to have its own viewpoint and its own practice have made headway and become widely understood and accepted. No one has a monopoly on the truth about self-management or about man's freedom and happiness, which are the essence of socialism and any progressive social system. In all this, Comrade Gorbachev, you will also recognize part of what you call the "new thinking," which is bringing to you personally and to the CPSU and the Soviet Union deserved attention throughout the world.

It may rightly be said that the Yugoslav-Soviet political dialogues at all levels and in all spheres are now acquiring new content and receiving new boosts, as convincingly testified by our current talks in Belgrade, as well as the upcoming meetings. Such contacts serve our mutual enrichment with experience in the building of socialism and in the further growth of its prestige.

High assessments have repeatedly been made of our countries' economic cooperation. It deserves this. However, we can always achieve more, particularly in the coming years. I have in mind capacities and resources, the actually proven mutually complementary nature of the two countries' national economies, and the creative potential for finding more dynamic forms in economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation more in line with the modern processes of development in the world. In this context the need to remove as quickly as possible the obstacles in the way of the further all-around development of economic relations as a whole suggests itself.

The results achieved in our cooperation in the spheres of science, culture, education, and information can be still better. They must correspond more fully to man's need to exchange achievements of intellect and promote our peoples' further mutual familiarization and rapprochement.

Together with the other nonaligned countries Yugoslavia actively advocates a new system of international relations, the so necessary democratization, the legitimate right of all to adopt decisions affecting their own destiny and problems concerning their vital interests, and a practice of international relations whereby force, intervention, and interference in internal affairs are not used as means of resolving disputes and whereby all disputes are resolved by peaceful means, by means of negotiation. For us this is the chief precondition for settling any conflict in the world.

The halting of the arms race process is the first, urgent task in efforts aimed at developing more secure international relations. The Soviet-U.S. agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has rightly been called a historic opportunity unprecedented in history. Not only is it an important act in itself, which for the first time in more than 40 years is being crowned with a reduction in nuclear arsenals. It has a wider political and psychological effect: It inspires the need to seek different paths to lasting peace and security for all peoples, to a world without weapons.

And yet, if international relations are starting to develop in such a desirable direction, can peace finally be lasting if they do not touch on questions of development, which are one of the most important global problems of relations among states and of world progress as a whole? The problem of the increasingly deep economic gulf between developed and developing countries entails dangerous consequences, which could jeopardize the world as a whole. The resolution of the problem of development is of vitally great importance for present relations and the world's future fate and represents one more command of the times.

Based on the principles of the policy of nonalignment, the SFRY is guided in its activity by the socialist ideals of a peace-loving and more just world which inspired us during the revolution and which do not cease to inspire us now.

The processes occurring on the European continent attract our special attention. We believe that the consistent implementation of the CSCE Final Act and also the new measures of confidence and cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki and the subsequent meetings in Belgrade, Madrid, and now Vienna represent a good way for all European countries to ensure that differences give way to cooperation, and fears give way to greater mutual understanding.

These aims should also be served by the new spirit of cooperation and greater mutual trust among the Balkan countries displayed at the recent Belgrade meeting of their foreign ministers. I would like the differences that exist among them to make themselves felt less and less in the process of strengthening good-neighborly relations and increasingly substantive forms of inter-Balkan mutual cooperation.

I wish to point here to the need to turn the Mediterranean, with the Balkan countries' active involvement, into a region where peace, security, and all-around cooperation will be a reality which will complement the positive processes on the European continent.

Turning to the high Soviet guest, L. Mojsov said:

Allow me once again to express profound satisfaction in connection with your visit and the constructive talks we are holding and once again to express a hope for still more favorable prospects for fruitful, equitable cooperation between our two socialist countries and between the LCY and the CPSU. The significance of our relations had already transcended the two countries' borders. We believe the favorable development of these relations will continue to serve as an inspiring example in observance of the lofty principles which we have inscribed in the declaration we have adopted and which we regard as our appeal to the world. We also regard them as a contribution to the common efforts aimed at establishing more secure and just international relations in the interests of the progress of all countries and peoples and of overall progress, in the interests of socialism.

In conclusion allow me to propose a toast to your health, to the health of esteemed Raisa Gorbacheva and your colleagues, to the friendly Soviet people's new successes in their country's further transformation, to still more substantive cooperation and friendship between our countries' peoples, to fruitful cooperation and the successful realization of the aims set in all spheres between the SFRY and the USSR.

Raisa Gorbacheva Tours Belgrade

*LD162336 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 16 Mar 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] During the visit to Yugoslavia, Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva has been acquainting herself with the country's capital and the life of its residents. [video shows Raisa in an art gallery]

[Unidentified speaker, off screen] The Belgrade People's Museum. Its collection includes rare art and historical items, evidence of an ancient Slavic culture on this land. Many schools and currents in painting are represented in the museum. Raisa Maksimovna could see here a rich collection of French impressionists—Degas, Gauguin, Renoir, Matisse—as well as works of famous Yugoslav painters of the 19th and 20th centuries. Raisa Maksimovna was interested in creative links between the art cultures of our two peoples. Museum staff told her that these links have long-standing traditions. Canvases by Repin, Korovin, Aleksandr Benois, and Nikolay Nerikh occupy prominent places in these halls. Today the Belgrade Museum maintains successful cooperation with our museums and art galleries, such as the Tretyakov Gallery and the Moscow Kremlin. Fairly recently paintings from the Hermitage were exhibited in these halls.

Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva's program in Belgrade covered various sides of the life of the town with a 1.5-million-strong population. One of the capital's new districts is called Vinogradniki. At one time there were vineyards on these hills. Now there are modern apartment blocks where about 30,000 new inhabitants reside.

People of Belgrade are open and hospitable, they heartily welcomed Raisa Maksimovna everywhere in the streets.

The Vuckovic family invited her to visit them in their new apartment. They are meeting each other. Housewife Zorica works in a kindergarten and her husband Rajko works in a hotel. Their two children Anna and Georgie are schoolchildren. The apartment is small but comfortable and cozy.

Raisa Maksimovna visited a district supermarket. She was interested in the most everyday things. [video shows Raisa in what looks like a factory; she talks to people next to her through interpreter]

[Raisa] I (?do not) like it very much. The apartment blocks are too high. One should feel more at home. Yes. Because we are tired of that gigantomania and the concrete and glass style. And trees are only just being planted, perhaps? Is it so?

[Video shows children in a kindergarten; Raisa and others watch a performance staged by children; she and others posing for a group photograph]

[Unidentified speaker, off screen] The acquaintance with the new district ended at Platan Street where a year ago a kindergarten was opened. Every morning 350 children are brought here by their parents. A lively conversation about the importance of the family and the role of mothers in society started. Then an improvised performance by little artists followed. Raisa Maksimovna presented the children with books by our best children's writers. Then a photograph was taken to remember this cozy and light house and its residents who are merry and carefree thanks to the care of adults.

[Video shows an entrance with the name Simpo over it; halls with furniture on display; Raisa walking about accompanied by officials]

Visits to large trade centers were also included in the program of the city tour. Here is a direct-sales shop belonging to the Simpo furniture association. This is a well-known trade name. Raisa Maksimovna was told that three quarters of Simpo output are exported to 45 countries, including those regarded as setting the pace for fashion in furniture. The Simpo is famous for the quality of its production.

Kronic Toasts Gorbachev

LD181353 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Dubrovnik March 18 TASS—Bosko Kronic, president of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, has described the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Yugoslavia as very fruitful. He spoke at a dinner here Thursday in honour of the Soviet leader.

This way "we have committed ourselves to further efforts to strengthen our cooperation in all areas, enrich bilateral relations, develop the socialist school of thought and practice", Bosko Kronic said. He noted that the course of the talks held showed the concurrence of views on many issues and said: "We found that we face one and the same difficulties although ways to develop society in our countries do not always coincide".

Speaking about the development of the Marxist school of thought, the president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, emphasized that socialism was curing ever more successfully of dogmatism in theory and practice, opening up broad vistas to the creative application of the Marxist thought. The meeting of representatives of the communist parties and all progressive movements held in Moscow recently convinced us of this.

In developing the socialist school of thought and practice, "it is essential to avoid conservatism and treat in a creative way the ideas of building society for the benefit of man, pervaded with socialist humanism. All talks held by us showed that these goals are shared both by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia", Bosko Kronic said in conclusion.

Ljubljana, Dubrovnik Tours Viewed

PM211101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Clear Guidelines for Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 18 Mar—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met on Thursday with the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The Yugoslav comrades provided him with detailed information about the political, economic, and ideological processes in the life of the republic, shared their plans for the future, and voiced their thoughts on the transition to a new phase of cooperation in specific spheres, notably with the Belorussian and Georgian SSR's, with which Slovenia maintains friendly ties.

It was stressed that people in the republic are actively looking for ways and means to overcome the difficulties being experienced and boost social production efficiency. They appear in the further improvement of the system of socialist self-management and the materialization of its ideas, taking into consideration the demands of the sociopolitical and economic situation in the country.

The Slovenian comrades attach great importance to the introduction of new forms of Soviet-Yugoslav ties in their quest for optimum solutions to current problems.

Thanking them for the hospitality and the cordial welcome, M.S. Gorbachev pointed out that the interested, frank discussion of USSR and SFRY problems in conversations with the Yugoslav leadership and with the leaders of Serbia and Slovenia is making it possible to understand one another better and clearly present the real potential and guidelines for cooperation in the future. The main factor, M.S. Gorbachev said, is the coincidence of our interests as regards the need to uncover more fully the potential of socialism, taking into consideration specific national characteristics, of course. We have a great deal in common in our views of the world in which we live. All this creates favorable preconditions for expanding contacts, especially in the party-political sphere.

The principles of USSR-SFRY relations, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, have been laid down. We have deepened them in the declaration which we have adopted. If you take into consideration the long traditions of friendship and cooperation and the strengthening mutual understanding, it is obvious that there is a stable base for accelerating progress in all spheres and in all directions in the interests of the Soviet and the Yugoslav peoples.

The following attended the meeting on the Soviet side: V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Silayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee; and other officials. The following were present on the Yugoslav side: M. Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; F. Popit, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia; M. Kucan, chairman of the Slovenian League of Communists Central Committee; M. Potrc, chairman of the Slovenian Federal Assembly; D. Sinigoj, chairman of the Slovenian Executive Council; and other officials.

Dubrovnik, 18 Mar—On the same day, M.S. Gorbachev met with leaders from the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Welcoming the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, the Yugoslav comrades stressed that they are following attentively the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union. The revolutionary transformations designed to move socialism to a qualitatively new level are of tremendous interest for them and are stimulating their quest.

The Croatian leaders described in detail the republic's industrial and agricultural potential and talked about its share in Yugoslavia-wide production and exports. Party and economic organizations and labor collectives are looking for a way to unite more efficiently federal and republic interests and social and individual interests.

In the Yugoslav comrades' opinion, the radical transformations in the USSR are opening up scope for new forms of cooperation at the level of the two countries' republics and for exchanging ideas, concrete developments, and practical experience in various spheres.

M.S. Gorbachev supported these ideas and pointed out that the meetings held in the course of the visit with the Yugoslav leadership and the conversations in labor collectives confirm the mutual commitment and readiness to speed up cooperation. We have, he said, synchronized our watches on current questions. The main thing is that we have discussed the problems presented by life itself and the prospects for relations. Relying on our achievements and improving cooperation, we are answering the call of the times by collective efforts. This is of decisive importance for the destiny of socialism. If we remain the prisoners of the old ideas and if we give one another rosy information, nothing worthwhile will come of it. Our conversations on Yugoslav soil confirm that we are going along a different path—the path of frank, party comparison of one another's views, assessments, and experience. The essence of the turn now being taken is of tremendous significance—the involvement of working people in the processes of renewal, enabling socialism to gain a second wind.

V.A. Medvedev, I.S. Silayev, and other officials attended the conversation on the Soviet side.

The following were present from the Yugoslav side: M. Orlandic; A. Markovic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia; S. Stojcevic, chairman of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium; A. Milovic, chairman of the Croatian Executive Council; and other officials.

Dubrovnik, 18 Mar—Following the completion of the Soviet-Yugoslav talks, there was a short protocol interval in M.S. Gorbachev's work program for him to acquaint himself with the historic and cultural sights of Dubrovnik—a well-preserved medieval city. But in this inadequate period of allotted time, the general secretary barely had time to thoroughly familiarize himself, as he would have liked, with the ancient part of the city, which was in

its heyday the largest trading, economic, and cultural center on the Adriatic. A city which gave the world outstanding writers, architects, shipbuilders, scientists, and seamen.

The streets of Dubrovnik were crammed with people. They tried to shake hands with the Soviet leader and stopped him to greet him and give him warm wishes. A fleeting look round the unique Knjaze Dvor building and the cathedral—then the Soviet leader was once again closely surrounded by people. Someone declaimed: "Perestroyka!" He was supported by cries of "Glasnost!" The people asked him to send the Soviet people a cordial greeting and wished him success in the work of renewing society. They talked about their desire to strengthen friendship with the Soviet people.

Voice: Comrade Gorbachev, we want you to take good impressions away with you from our country.

M.S. Gorbachev: I am leaving Yugoslavia with precisely such impressions, but the main thing is that the talks, which were held in a businesslike, comradely atmosphere, were very important. We have agreed on a great deal.

I am glad that, apart from talks with comrades at state and party level, I have had many, albeit short, meetings with the working people of Yugoslavia. I remember their faces, their eyes, and their greetings, in short the sincere feelings which they cherish toward the Soviet Union. Thank you for your warmth and cordiality.

The Soviet leader's opinion of the talks and his meetings in Yugoslavia also interested numerous journalists. Seizing a suitable moment, they asked him to talk about this.

M.S. Gorbachev: We are pleased with the results of the talks—both in the political sphere and in the purely human sphere. Bilateral relations and questions concerning world policy and the problems of socialism were discussed. I must say that this was productive dialogue and an open, serious exchange of opinions. Our dialogue moved into a quite different orbit—both in terms of the depth of the analysis and in terms of the problems discussed and its atmosphere. We noted in the course of the final meeting with Comrades Krunić and Mojsov and other leaders the great coincidence of positions and the common nature of the tasks facing us. And this goes a considerable way toward opening up new possibilities for fruitful cooperation. Furthermore, the situation demands that our relations assume even more dynamism. In this respect the visit gave us new food for thought and we will continue the talk about this. Questions of bilateral relations have held the main place in the conversations both in Belgrade and in the republics which I have managed to visit. We sensed what a lot can be done in the interests of both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and in the interests of socialism. We have certainly gained more confidence that we can develop long-term cooperation and add to it. Difficulties have

now arisen—because of the particular situation in the world—in the sphere of economic ties. We are taking this into consideration and have agreed to work to prevent a decline and even, on the contrary, somehow rectify the state of affairs. This is our common opinion and this is how we will act.

I want to stress that my comrades and I are full of impressions gained from our meetings and conversations on Yugoslav soil. The historic roots of our friendship and the desire of our peoples to strengthen it set politicians the task of embodying these popular sentiments in corresponding policy—moving shoulder to shoulder and emerging onto new frontiers of socialist building.

Soviet people are committed to friendship with the peoples of Yugoslavia. So it was and so it will be in the future. In this lies the main result of the visit. We will proceed together along a common path based on the principles of the 1955 and 1956 documents, which have been confirmed once again in the declaration adopted in the course of the visit. This is a splendid document, which, in my opinion goes beyond the framework of bilateral relations in terms of its significance. This is the fundamental significance of the document. I wish Yugoslavia prosperity. [passage omitted]

Mojsov: 'Frankness' of Visit

*LD182028 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade March 18 TASS—"The official friendly visit to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was extremely successful both by the frankness of a dialogue and by the wide range of matters considered", Lazar Mojsov, president of the collective Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has said in an interview with the TANJUG news agency.

There was not a single question concerning the sphere of bilateral relations and international life, which would not be at the centre of attention during a wide-ranging and frank exchange of views, he said.

"The talks were of versatile and comprehensive character. An important document—a Soviet-Yugoslav declaration—was adopted during the visit. The declaration not only reaffirmed the principles contained in the documents of 1955 1956 but also developed them in accordance with the present-day state of our relations and the state of affairs in the world".

"Much attention during the talks was devoted to relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and to an exchange of views on problems which our two countries encounter", the Yugoslav leader pointed out.

"Mikhail Gorbachev described the present phase of the development of Soviet society and we got to know more closely the problems being tackled by the Soviet Union."

"The talks on possibilities of and prospects for further development of economic cooperation were very important. We expressed mutual striving to enrich cooperation with new forms and devoted special attention to judging prospects for long-term cooperation. The talks revealed good prospects for the development of our relations on a solid and long-term basis".

"Mikhail Gorbachev's visit was also highly successful from the viewpoint of the exchange of views on international issues within the context of initiatives aimed at democratizing international relations and at eliminating the seats of tension in the world", Lazar Mojsov pointed out.

Krunic: High Identity of Views

LD181852 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 18 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's official friendly visit to Yugoslavia reflected continuity in the Soviet-Yugoslav dialogue at the highest level, Bosko Krunic, president of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, has told Yugoslavia's TANJUG news agency.

Assessing the results of the Soviet-Yugoslav negotiations as very positive, he said that the Soviet leader's visit was of great importance for the further development of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia and one of the signal events in the international arena.

The talks with Gorbachev were held in a frank and comradely atmosphere. That was not a series of monologues, but an extended dialogue in which various views were expressed, ideas put forward and better solutions looked after.

It was clear that there existed a high degree of proximity or identity of views on many international problems and on questions of developing socialism and relations within the communist and workers' movement.

Perestroyka, or restructuring, and new thinking that characterised the current political situation in the Soviet Union, Krunic said, opened up prospects for our mutual cooperation and better understanding as well.

"Mikhail Gorbachev impressed me as being a very outgoing and straightforward politician," said the Yugoslav party leader. "He is a man with a broad spectrum of interests, he is very well informed. He is a person of vast experience, diverse erudition, a person who can listen to those he talks with.

"I think that political figures with such qualities can be vehicles for things innovative and forerunners of changes which the peoples of their countries strive to achieve."

'Agreement' on Main Issues

LD181950 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] The Soviet leader's opinion on the talks and meetings in Yugoslavia have been of interest, of course, to the many journalists. Having found a suitable moment, they have asked Mikhail Sergeyevich to comment. After expressing his satisfaction with the talks held with the Yugoslav leaders, Comrade Gorbachev said, in particular:

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] They concerned both bilateral relations and problems of European security, and security issues in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. We talked about very many things regarding the current situation in developing socialism at this stage, and what options there are to give this process dynamism. A need for a broad exchange between socialist countries exists now that they have entered a phase of profound economic and social transformation and further improvement of their political systems.

And, of course, we discussed issues of war and peace. Both the SFRY and the USSR on their own are now also making a substantial contribution to making international relations more healthy. We have agreed on how we should interact to build positive things in international relations. In any case, I will say that there was agreement on the main issues. We view with optimism the future of both socialism and the situation in the world.

[Unidentified voice, speaking in English] One other question.

[Gorbachev] That is all. Thank you. [end recording]

'Final Talk' Detailed

PM191759 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Talk With SFRY Leaders"]

[Text] Dubrovnik, 18 Mar—The final talk between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Yugoslav leaders was held here today.

B. Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, noted that people in Yugoslavia were appraising highly the results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit and the Soviet-Yugoslav documents that had been signed. In the opinion of party and state leaders, B. Krunic said, the visit had fully justified the expectations that had been pinned on it. Everything that we have agreed will be translated into practical deeds at all levels.

The comprehensive and frank [otkrovennyy] discussion of questions of mutual interest enriches our cooperation, L. Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, noted.

M.S. Gorbachev agreed with the expressed assessments. We have examined in detail major political and economic problems whose solution will enable us to reveal socialism's potential more fully. Allowing for our countries' specific features, our assessments coincide in many respects. This is of great significance for our parties and peoples. We did not exchange courtesies, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, we tackled specific questions, we thought about the future, and we laid the groundwork for the development of all-around cooperation.

The adopted declaration exceeds the bounds of bilateral relations. It touches upon questions which attract interest in the world Communist and workers movement. We are in favor of deepening the Soviet-Yugoslav dialogue on key problems of the development of socialism and expanding exchanges of experience and cooperation along party and scientific lines.

Coinciding assessments of the current international situation were voiced during the talks. This gives us reason to count on our countries' increased joint contribution to the strengthening of peace and the improvement of the international climate. We, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, intend to actively and purposefully implement the accords reached with the Yugoslav comrades.

Gorbachev: Fresh Opportunities

LD181722 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Dubrovnik March 18 TASS—"We are satisfied with the results of the talks, both politically and from the purely human point of view," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said today when familiarising himself with Dubrovnik. He shared with journalists his impressions of his visit to Yugoslavia following the completion of Soviet-Yugoslav talks.

"Bilateral relations, matters concerning world politics, and the problems of socialism were discussed", he went on to say. "I must say that that was a productive dialogue, a frank and serious exchange of views. Our dialogue reached quite a different orbit both by the depth of analysis, the range of issues, and its atmosphere. During the concluding meeting with Comrade Kronic, Comrade Mojsov, and other leaders, we stated a broad similarity of positions and the community of tasks we are faced with. This to a considerable extent opens up fresh opportunities for fruitful cooperation. Moreover, the situation calls for our relations to acquire a still greater dynamism. In this sense the visit provided new food for reflections, and we shall continue the talk about that".

"Matters of bilateral relations occupied much place in the talks in both Belgrade and in the republics which I had an occasion to visit", the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out.

"We came to feel how much can be done in the interests of both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and in the interests of socialism. I think we became more confident that we can unfold and give greater scope to long-term cooperation. Difficulties have now arisen—in view of the certain situation in the world—in the field of economic contacts. We take this into consideration and have agreed to work so as to prevent a downswing and even to somehow straighten out the state of affairs. Such is our common opinion and this is how we shall act".

"I want to emphasize that my comrades and I are full of impressions of the meetings and conversations on Yugoslav soil. The historical roots of our friendship and our peoples' striving to strengthen it set before politicians the task of embodying these sentiments of people in an appropriate policy: to go shoulder to shoulder together and to make new advances in socialist construction".

"Soviet people are devoted to friendship with the peoples of Yugoslavia. This is how it has been, is, and will be. Herein is the chief result of the visit. We shall proceed together along the common road, guiding ourselves by the principles set out in the documents of 1955 and 1956 which have been reaffirmed once again in a declaration which was adopted during the visit. This is a fine document which, to my mind, in its significance goes beyond the framework of bilateral relations. Herein is the fundamental importance of the document. I wish prosperity to Yugoslavia", Mikhail Gorbachev said.

The streets of Dubrovnik were thronged with people who were eager to shake hands with the Soviet leader, pressing around him to voice their greetings and warm wishes. After a quick tour of the unique building—Knyazhev Dvor, and cathedral—the Soviet leader was again surrounded by people. Someone chanted "perestroika", and people joined him with enthusiastic shouts "glasnost!" People asked Mikhail Gorbachev to convey heartfelt greetings to the Soviet people and wishes of success in the work to revitalise society. They spoke of a desire to strengthen friendship with the Soviet people.

A resident of the city said, addressing the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "We would like you to take with you good impressions of our country".

"It is precisely with such impressions that I leave Yugoslavia", answered Mikhail Gorbachev. "But the main thing is that the talks which have been held in a businesslike and comradely atmosphere were very important. We reached agreement on many things."

"I am gratified to say that, apart from the talks with state and party officials, I had a good deal of meetings, brief ones, though, with working people of Yugoslavia. I shall remember their faces, eyes and greetings, and the kindly sentiments which they entertain towards the Soviet Union. Thank you for the warmth and cordiality."

'Prerequisites' for More Ties

LD181047 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT
18 Mar 88

["Gorbachev: Soviet-Yugoslav Relations Making Progress"—TASS headline]

[Text] Dubrovnik March 18 TASS—The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have "the common political will, supported and approved nationwide in each country, to enrich their mutually advantageous cooperation in every field", Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said Thursday as he summed up the results of his talks with Yugoslav leaders.

The Soviet leader, who is completing his official friendly visit to this country, was speaking at a supper in Dubrovnik, a city on the shore of the Adriatic Sea.

He said there are prerequisites for strengthening Soviet-Yugoslav interaction in international affairs as well.

"A broad, prejudice-free approach to it would be in the interests of not only the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples, but also of all Europe and the world community," Gorbachev added.

The general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee stressed that "there is no task more important today than to work for pooling efforts in the search for ways and means of real disarmament and for solutions to other pressing problems of the times".

He said he had been "very impressed" by Yugoslavia's achievement in various fields.

Touching on problems encountered in Yugoslav society, he told the hosts that "the Soviet people are far from sharing the negative judgments on the situation in your country and outlook for its development, which at that often have the nature of ill-intentioned speculation". [sentence as received]

Gorbachev expressed confidence that the difficulties will be overcome. He said the Soviet leadership, communists and all working people in the USSR "sincerely wish to see Yugoslavia a strong, united and prosperous socialist state".

"We are leaving fraternal Yugoslavia in the firm conviction that the entire package of Soviet-Yugoslav relations is rising to a new level. This is precisely what has been the aim of the visit," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said.

Gorbachev Greets MSZMP's Kadar During Flight
LD181837 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent from his aircraft a telegram to Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP. It says: While overflying the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic, I send to you, esteemed Comrade Kadar, to the MSZMP Central Committee and to all Communists and working people of fraternal Hungary, the very best wishes to the Hungarian people for success in socialist construction and for happiness and prosperity. May the cooperation and friendship, tested over the decades, between the CPSU and the MSZMP, and between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples, grow stronger.

GDR Foreign Ministry on Missile Withdrawal
LD200824 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT
20 Mar 88

[Text] Berlin March 20 TASS—The withdrawal of Soviet operational-tactical OTR-22 missiles from the territory of the GDR was completed on Saturday. The withdrawal was held by agreement between the USSR and the GDR before ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

This step proves once again that the USSR, the GDR and other fraternal countries keep their words and are ready to back up their words with concrete deeds, Wolfgang Meyer, a representative of the GDR Foreign Ministry, stated in this connection. Above all, the pre-term missile withdrawal ensures the early entry into force of the INF Treaty and is the first realistic step in elimination of a whole class of armaments. This initiative, as is shown by the response of the whole world, has enlisted broad public support. The actions, undertaken by the socialist countries before ratification of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, are regarded in the whole world as a good-will gesture, and a measure designed to bolster confidence, bound to stimulate new steps towards disarmament and improvement of the international situation, said the representative of the GDR Foreign Ministry.

Gromyko Receives GDR's Sindermann, Delegation
LD160026 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1905 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 15 Mar (TASS)—A.A. Gromyko received a delegation of the GDR People's Chamber in the Kremlin today. The delegation arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on an official visit led by Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and People's Chamber chairman.

The conversation began with specific questions of inter-parliamentarian cooperation. Horst Sindermann set forth the meaning of the GDR's initiative on the organization of a meeting of the parliamentarians of the

Baltic countries with the aim of analyzing and supporting the idea of setting up a nuclear-free zone in the Baltic region. Representatives from European countries who support the idea of a nuclear-free Europe are to come to Berlin for this purpose in June this year at the invitation of the GDR. This initiative is being widely discussed in West European capitals and, as the friends from the GDR believe, is completely in line with the Soviet proposal on the elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000.

The chairman of the GDR People's Chamber expressed a positive attitude toward the process of establishing treaty-based links between CEMA and the EEC and mentioned that the GDR is starting such contacts with West European countries. At the same time, he noted, the FRG is still trying to set conditions for the development of relations with the GDR which is, of course, impermissible.

The GDR People's Chamber deputies spoke about the development of the republic in recent years, about the "communal policy," that is, about the work of local councils, and about achievements in the social sphere and in the development of the cooperative movement. The wish was expressed to begin closer contacts between parliamentary commissions on industry and agriculture.

Summing up everything that has been said about the GDR, H. Sindermann said that our aim is to use economic successes and the development of democracy to prove the attractiveness of socialism and its advantages. Expressing the Soviet people's thoughts and feelings of friendship toward the GDR, A.A. Gromyko stressed that this fraternal country is a member of the family of the socialist member states of the Warsaw Pact organization with all the consequences stemming from this. It is possible to say that not a single day passes in which some questions of our relations with the GDR are not discussed in the Soviet leadership. Questions constantly arise which you cannot get away from, and solutions are found.

Speaking of West Berlin, he noted that on this question, too, one should be guided by the highest interests which were reflected in the documents of the Political Consultative Committee of the countries of the Warsaw Pact. A reliable political strategy is essential here, too. Matters must be conducted on that worthy basis which is in accord with that strategy without permitting any damage to the GDR and its legitimate interests.

For decades certain circles in the FRG have been trying to destroy the status of West Berlin. If a frontal attack does not succeed, they try to do it by roundabout means. It is in the common interests not only of the socialist countries but also of the FRG to cherish this status and not to allow it to be destroyed.

Of course, this does not mean that it is necessary to curtail relations with West Berlin. For example, it is worth continuing cooperation through party channels with the relevant forces in that city. But again, only in such a way as to prevent any violation of the status of West Berlin and the corresponding four power agreement.

It is well known that Bonn wishes to galvanize notions of the "Pan-Germanic character" which run contrary to the sovereignty of the GDR. History itself has crushed such notions.

Of course, we—in other words, the USSR and the GDR—should make use of all possibilities for the development of good contacts with the FRG. Understanding is growing in that country for the implications of the growth of nuclear arsenals on West German territory. It is precisely for that reason that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has met with support in West Germany.

Of course, we see those groups in the FRG who occupy a healthy stand and influence the political atmosphere in the country. It was on the basis of this that the Soviet leadership agreed to two visits: one by H. Kohl to the Soviet Union this year and the other by M.S. Gorbachev to the FRG next year. This agreement signifies that the leadership of the two states have certain stable evaluations of Soviet-West German relations. This same agreement also shows that it is possible to reach agreements with the FRG, if mutual goodwill exists.

We must work at developing relations, both through parliamentary and public channels. This can be the only correct way.

A. Gromyko talked about the Soviet policy of restructuring and supported the idea of his interlocutors about the need for closer cooperation and the exchange of information, and in particular of experience in questions of developing the cooperative movement and resolving problems in the social sphere.

Immense forces have come into motion in the Soviet Union. The whole country and the entire people are turning to face the tasks before them. Here, we are talking about economic questions, the enhancement of socialist democracy, and the development of glasnost. A colossal amount of work lies ahead, but our people are convinced that they can accomplish it. They are far from thinking that everything can be solved quickly, and we are well aware how large in scope and immensely profound the transformations ahead are. Much must be done in the sphere of training scientific and technical personnel.

The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum was held recently. The main topic discussed was restructuring in the sphere of education. We must get rid of bottlenecks to prepare specialists who are up to the

modern-day level of demands of socialist society. In the area of training personnel, as in all other areas, we want to make fuller use of the potential of socialism. Secondly, the plenum set the task of ideologically and theoretically interpreting the present stage of the life of Soviet society. It also summoned us to look toward the future. These questions and the tasks facing the party on the ideological front were examined in the required depth in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the plenum.

The support of millions of people is the most important thing for the implementation of the policy of restructuring. Our internal policy is organically linked to our foreign policy. The Soviet Union needs peace to carry out all the transformations. The more reliable it is, the better it will be for the Soviet people.

The conversation took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere characteristic of the fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

Present at the conversation were: A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.A. Gorshkov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; V.V. Svirin, chief of the Department of the Socialist Countries of Central Europe at the USSR Foreign Ministry; and Gerd Koenig, GDR Ambassador in the USSR.

Soviet-Polish Historians Address 'Blank Spots'

*PM161101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4*

[Interviews with Academician G.L. Smirnov, chairman of the Soviet section of the Joint Commission of USSR and Polish Scientists on the History of Relations Between the Two Countries and director of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, and Prof J. Maciszewski, chairman of the commission's Polish section and rector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, by PRAVDA correspondents Ye. Fadeyev and A. Starukh: "With Regard to the 'Blank Spots.' Meeting of USSR and Polish Scientist-Historians"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In accordance with the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture signed by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski, the leaders of the CPSU and the PZPR, the second session of the Joint Commission of USSR and Polish Scientists on the History of Relations Between the Two Countries has been held in Warsaw. PRAVDA correspondents asked Academician G.L. Smirnov, chairman of the commission's Soviet section and director of

the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, and Prof J. Maciszewski, chairman of the commission's Polish section and rector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, to comment on the results of this meeting.

G. Smirnov: The commission summed up the results of the work done since the first session held last May in Moscow. Both sides presented information on the course of the scientific research, the archive investigation, and the implementation of other measures regarding Soviet-Polish relations in the years 1917-1945. The first session of May 1987 determined the questions that the joint commission was to work on. This is a quite difficult matter for there are much greater expectations regarding the question of the so-called "blank spots" than there are possibilities for reviewing definite problems in a short time.

We planned then to deal with the period 1917-1920, the question of the dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland, the events of August-September 1939, the Warsaw uprising, and the combat collaboration between the Soviet and Polish peoples during World War II.

Antisocialist forces have shown extremely great active-ness in compiling huge lists of "blank spots," generally pursuing aims far removed from the clarification of complex problems and the establishment of an atmosphere of friendly, amicable mutual understanding between the Polish and Soviet peoples. In their eyes the Soviet Union alone is the guilty party. The bourgeoisie of Britain and France are left in the background, and even Hitler is sometimes rehabilitated. The Polish bourgeoisie appears in quite a good light, although it is well known that it did a great deal to cause Poland to fall out with the Soviet Union.

It is true and a fact of tremendous historical importance that Poland was fighting not against the Soviet Union but against Germany, and, of course, Poland's leaders played their role here. But was this policy so correct? I believe we must also see the negative problems here.

In the intervening period I have managed to determine in more depth and more precisely the primary problems, the commission's tasks, and the means to resolve them. During this time Soviet historians have done useful work in studying the 1939 situation and a number of absolutely unacceptable stereotypes have been exposed to scientific criticism. In his time V. Molotov, former people's commissar for foreign affairs, stated that the Polish state had ceased to exist. This was an insulting and profoundly incorrect statement. The state is not a phenomenon which exists one day and not the next. The Polish state was indeed in a difficult position, but it continued to exist: Poles were fighting against the German fascist invaders and there was a Polish emigre government with which the USSR soon resumed diplomatic relations. Furthermore: We consider that from the very start Poland waged a defensive and just war. At the

same time, there was no war between the USSR and Poland and consequently there were no prisoners of war. At the same time this concept is sometimes employed unjustifiably in Soviet literature. Polish servicemen were interned, and their fate needs to be studied, but this is another matter.

The PZPR Central Committee Central Archive has been given documents on the history of the Polish workers movement and a total of 106,000 frames of microfilm.

Now a word about our work in Warsaw. The important question of the combat collaboration between the Soviet and Polish peoples during the years of World War II was discussed thoroughly both at the plenary session and also in working groups. Everyone is aware of the considerable contribution made by the USSR's Polish population to the joint struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. At the same time the poor study of a number of problems relating to the combat collaboration between the USSR and Poland in this period was pointed out. This applies to the formation of the Polish Armed Forces in the USSR, the cadre, material, technical, and instructional aid given them by the USSR, and also the Polish population's aid to the Soviet Army during the liberation of Polish territories from the Hitlerite occupation. The question of the cooperation between the Soviet Army and Soviet partisan detachments and units of the Armia Ludowa, the Armia Krajowa, and the peasant battalions [batalyony khlopskiye] can only be considered partially elaborated.

It would be useful and interesting to continue the study of the aid given by the Polish population to Soviet prisoners of war escaping from the German fascist camps to the partisan detachments.

The question of the Polish population on the territories of Western Belorussia, Western Ukraine, and Lithuania in 1939-1941 was discussed very thoroughly. It was shown that there were various waves of relocation of the Polish population deep inside the USSR. The enforced deportation of the Polish population took place at that time, accompanied by violations of socialist legality. Unwarranted arrests were made, as also with regard to Soviet citizens.

There were refugees who were escaping from Hitler's troops. Some of the Polish population was sent to work in the eastern regions. Resettlement occurred as a result of drafting into the Soviet Army and into work battalions, and later with the enlistment of Poles in the Polish Armed Forces.

The commission also examined an interesting report on the activity of the Comintern before World War II. In this connection certain questions of the activity of the Communist Party of Poland were uncovered.

The reports presented by the Soviet side on combat collaboration, the Polish population in the USSR, and the Comintern constitute the result of substantial research. They gave rise to animated discussions. We calculate that all these materials will be published in the near future.

We have elaborated a whole series of proposals regarding the immortalization of the memory of prominent Poles—revolutionaries, scientists, and cultural figures who lived in our country and who made a large contribution to our country's development.

Now a word about what we have planned. Proceeding on the basis of the fact that both countries have great expectations of the results of the work of the joint commission, it has drawn up a specific schedule for publishing not only large studies encompassing many years but also intermediate studies—such as to give an idea of the course of our investigations. We have familiarized ourselves with the work done on the monograph "International Cooperation Between the CPSU and the PZPR: History and the Present" ["Internatsionalnoye Sotrudnichestvo Mezhdru KPSS i PORP: Istoriya i Sovremennost"] and have discussed the concept of the sections now under preparation for a monograph devoted to Polish-Soviet relations in 1917-1921, including the causes, course, and consequences of the Soviet-Polish war of 1920.

The commission attaches great importance to systematic coverage of its activity, and any attempts to impart elements of sensationalism to its work are resolutely spurned. At the same time we believe that work to remove the "blank spots" is a matter for a broad circle of historians and scientific establishments from both countries and not only for members of the commission itself.

In conclusion I must point out that the history of our relations is complex and diverse. As is well known, Western propaganda urges us to tackle exclusively those problems which were complex and dramatic for our countries. But history has written a multitude of other pages in the life of our peoples. Pages characterized by good-neighborliness, joint revolutionary struggle, combat collaboration, and the profound interaction of the Polish and Russian cultures. It would be correct for scientist-historians and also the mass media to find a few more opportunities to show these pages of good-neighborliness and friendship.

J. Maciszewski: We historians are only beginning the great work. I am sure that the curtain will rise again on more than one "blank spot." A common research methodology, it can be said, has already been identified. Briefly this amounts to: the undeviating pursuit of historical truth and the comprehensive study of all questions without removing them from the context of the history of both our peoples. Both sides have completely swept away the schematic and dogmatic approaches to the examination of the problems. For instance, the

conclusion has been drawn that it is impossible to assess Polish-Soviet relations before and during World War II without taking into consideration the general political situation in Europe and throughout the world. Without this it is equally impossible to review the process of the dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland. The tragedy of the fate of most of its leaders lies in the failure to understand the situation then prevailing in the Comintern and everything that had taken place in the late thirties in the USSR.

Our scientists have concluded unequivocally that it is necessary to expand the concept of the so-called "blank spots." Is it right to talk only about what was pitiful and bad? For how much good there was in the glorious deeds of our collaboration and the joint struggle waged by Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians.... Surely that holds the roots of our present fraternity?

We have made perceptible progress on certain issues, including the question that was probably the most complex and dramatic for the fate of thousands of Poles—that associated with their deportation in 1939-1941. Some were taken to a new place of residence and sent to work deep inside the USSR, others ended up in camps and prisons. There were also those who were insulted by the distrust: instead of fighting shoulder to shoulder, weapon in hand, against the hated common enemy—the Hitlerites—they ended up in construction battalions. But then Poles were also drafted into the Red Army, and many of the "offended" ones subsequently returned to their homeland as soldier-liberators in the Polish Armed Forces' 1st Army.

Nor must we rule out the factor of the relations between Poles and Russians—soldiers and ordinary people—in various situations. Some 98 percent of former Polish internees polled by Polish historians answered that they retained in their memory the Soviet population's friendly, completely compassionate attitude toward them.

I must also recall the contribution to the great victory over fascism made by the Polish population living in the Soviet Union at that time and working together with everyone in plants and factories and on kolkhozes. Or take another question—the tremendous comprehensive aid given by the Soviet state to the Polish Armed Forces. And what about the partisan detachments' cooperation with Resistance detachments, and the Polish population's running the deadly risk of aiding Soviet prisoners of war?... Are not these also "blank spots" in the broad sense of the word? What work lies ahead for us here—to establish the truth both as regards what actually happened and as regards the definitive historical assessment of what happened!

The work of USSR and Polish scientists and the work of our joint commission is continuing. Indisputably it must carry on for the good of our two fraternal peoples.

West Europe

IRA Funeral Killings 'Monstrous Terrorism'

PM221229 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Mar 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Burmistenko dispatch: "Wrath and Indignation"]

[Text] London, 17 Mar—The already tense situation in Ulster reached a boiling point following a monstrous act of terrorism in Belfast for which an extreme Protestant grouping has taken responsibility.

The tragedy took place yesterday at the Milltown Cemetery in the southern part of Belfast. Approximately 20,000 Irish Catholics had gathered here for the funeral of three IRA members, Mairead Farrell, Danny McCann, and Sean Savage, who were killed 10 days ago in Gibraltar by British special service agents. Official London affirms that these three Irishmen were preparing to commit a terrorist act on Gibraltar's main square during the ceremony of the changing of the guard. However, as Foreign Secretary G. Howe was forced to admit in Parliament, at the time they were killed Farrell, McCann, and Savage were completely unarmed and, furthermore, no explosive device was found in their car, which was parked near the Governor of Gibraltar's residence. The British special services' crime evoked a wave of indignation both in Northern Ireland and in the Irish Republic.

When the funeral ceremony at Milltown Cemetery was coming to an end, hand grenades suddenly came flying into the crowd one after the other. Their explosion was accompanied by random shooting from an automatic. People began to drop to the ground in panic, seeking cover behind gravestones. Three people were killed on the spot and another 68 were wounded, 18 of them seriously.

As the news of the monstrous crime at Milltown Cemetery began to circulate through the province, a storm of anger swept the Catholic areas of Belfast and other cities.

THE MORNING STAR assessed the event today in its editorial: "The British Government's stubborn refusal to seek a genuinely democratic political solution to the situation in Northern Ireland, which would respect the national rights of the entire Irish people, is based on desperation which leads to alternating cycles of violence."

Shevardnadze To Stop in Portugal on Way Home

AU220758 Paris AFP in English 2250 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Lisbon, March 21 (AFP)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will meet with Portuguese President Mario Soares Thursday during a brief stopover here on the way back from the United States, reliable sources said Monday.

Mr. Shevardnadze, who was meeting in Washington Monday with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, will meet here with Mr. Soares, Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva and Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro, the sources said.

The situation in Portugal's former colony in southwest Africa, Angola, would figure high on the agenda of talks during Mr. Shevardnadze's visit, observers said.

Further on Ryzhkov Meeting With FRG Banker
PM211455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conversation in the Kremlin"]

[Text] On 19 March N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received F.W. Christians, chairman of the board of the Deutsche Bank (FRG), who is in Moscow.

A thorough exchange of views took place on a number of questions pertaining to bilateral USSR-FRG relations, above all, in the sphere of further deepening economic, scientific, and technical ties, including cooperation in the peaceful exploration of space and in the sphere of culture and art. N.I. Ryzhkov reaffirmed the USSR's readiness to expand political dialogue with the FRG and to develop constructive collaboration with a view to solving the topical problems of the present time, the way it should be between good neighbors.

The restructuring underway in the Soviet Union, which is also affecting foreign economic activity, opens up new prospects for the development of business ties between Soviet organizations and enterprises and firms in the FRG, making use of both traditional ties and new forms of collaboration, including production sharing and the establishment of joint enterprises. The constructive line of the Federal Government and the active stance of FRG business circles will be of considerable importance in making use of the opportunities opening up. Their actions and initiatives in specific areas, based on mutual respect for the two sides' interests, will always meet with the Soviet partners' understanding and support.

F.W. Christians noted the unremitting interest in the FRG for the transformations implemented in the Soviet Union in various spheres of socioeconomic life. He spoke of the desire of the country's business people to expand the range of Soviet-West German economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, which has the support of the Federal Government and broad political and social circles.

Views were exchanged on a number of specific projects whose joint implementation will promote scientific and technical progress and help to enhance the qualitative level of USSR-FRG relations.

The conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, was attended by A.K. Antonov and V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.S. Moskovskiy, chairman of the USSR Vneshekonombank; and A. Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to the USSR.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Denmark
PM221229 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "For Nordic Security"]

[Text] Copenhagen, 16 Mar—The group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is currently here, has met with S. Jakobsen, speaker of the Danish Folketing (parliament); B. Elmquist, chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee; and I. Noring, the prime minister's foreign policy adviser.

Opinions were exchanged on the importance of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles for the improvement of the international situation and the process of real nuclear disarmament. Considerable attention was devoted to a discussion of the comprehensive program proposed by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk for the strengthening of security and cooperation in the north, and to the appeal by the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' Foreign Affairs Commissions to the parliaments and parliamentarians of the Nordic countries, the United States, and Canada. The Soviet representatives gave a briefing on the restructuring process taking place in the USSR. Questions involving the further development of cooperation between the two countries' parliaments were discussed.

The USSR Supreme Soviet representatives also met with A. Jorgensen, chairman of the Nordic countries' Interparliamentary Commission on the Creation of a Nuclear-Free Zone in Northern Europe. There was a heartfelt conversation on the prospects for the creation of a chemical weapons-free zone in the region.

Finnish Air Force Commander To Visit USSR
PM221043 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On an Official Visit"]

[Text] As agreed, Major General P. Jokinen, commander of the Finnish Air Force, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in the second half of March.

Visit of Delegation to Iceland 'Very Useful'

PM221303 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Returns"]

[Text] Reykjavik, 19 Mar—The 3-day visit to Iceland by a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is over. The group was received by Icelandic President V. Finnbogadottir, Icelandic Foreign Minister S. Hermannsson, and leaders of the Althing (parliament) and had a meeting with journalists and representatives of the public.

The head of the Soviet delegation emphasized at these meetings that the main aim of the deputies' visit was to explain to statesmen and parliamentarians in Scandinavian countries the Soviet Union's recent large-scale initiatives and the USSR's stand on key aspects of contemporary world politics and questions of bilateral relations. Particular attention was devoted to discussing possible ways to implement the comprehensive program put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk to strengthen security, trust, and cooperation in the north of the world, including the formation of a nuclear-free zone there.

For their part, the Icelandic leadership and parliamentarians expressed great interest in the speediest adoption of real measures to ensure peace, security, and mutually advantageous cooperation in this region, which is vitally important to their country.

Icelandic President V. Finnbogadottir noted the visible results of the real disarmament process initiated in Reykjavik in October 1986 at the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. We are happy that the "spirit of Reykjavik" has led to the signing of a truly historic agreement to destroy an entire class of nuclear arms for the first time in history, she said.

Touching on Soviet-Icelandic relations, the president emphasized that they have been given a powerful boost to develop further as a result of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the country. Interest in the Soviet Union, its people, life, and policies is constantly growing. It is precisely for this reason that the book by the Soviet leader, which is called "Restructuring: New Thinking, New Hope" in the Icelandic edition, is enjoying such enormous success here and sold out immediately.

"I look forward with gratitude and impatience to the day when I shall have the pleasure of visiting your country at the invitation of the Soviet leadership," the Icelandic president said.

The Althing has also broadly discussed the recent appeal by the USSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissions to the parliaments and parliamentarians of Northern Europe, the United States, and Canada.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies were warmly greeted in the "Iceland-USSR" Society.

In the opinion of both sides, the visit by the Soviet parliamentarians to Iceland was very useful and will undoubtedly contribute to the task of strengthening universal peace and further developing the traditionally good-neighborly relations between the two countries.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama's Solis Notes Noriega Resignation Offer

LD220728 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT
22 Mar 88

[Text] Panama City March 22 TASS—The people of Panama will continue struggling to protect their national sovereignty and independence and frustrate the United States' striving to perpetuate its control over the Panama Canal and military presence in this country, Panamanian President Solis Palma said today.

In an address to the nation via radio and television he strongly denounced U.S. economic sanctions and unrelenting political, diplomatic and military pressure against this country.

The U.S. undeclared war against Panama, the president said, contradicted the basic norms of international law.

He added that General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defense Forces, had promised to leave his post before the forthcoming elections on condition that political dialogue would be conducted in Panama to find a sovereign solution to the crisis the country is living through.

U.S. Censured for Denying Panama's Sovereignty

PM211627 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Zafesov "Viewpoint": "According to Imperial Measures"]

[Text] Events in Panama are beginning to look rather dramatic. Briefly I would define the situation thus: A struggle is going on for the Panama Canal and the strategic base where North and South America meet.

The small Central American republic along whose territory the canal runs, uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, has long been the object of U.S. military and political aspirations.

The Americans thought that the canal would belong to them forever. Under pressure from world public opinion and thanks to the determination and inflexibility of the then Panamanian leader General Torrijos, in 1977 Washington signed a new treaty under which the canal must be transferred to the Panamanians before the year

2000. At the same time, the Canal Zone would be freed from the U.S. military presence. But the closer it gets to the end of the century, the more irritable Washington becomes.

All means have been set in motion: persuasion, blackmail, arms supplies to extremists, political pressure, and attempts to undermine the country's economy. It should be recognized that in this respect the United States has many opportunities, and they chose one of the Panamanians' most sensitive "sore spots." The fact is that Panama does not have its own bank notes. Of course, the country does have its national monetary unit, the balboa, but it only exists in the form of coins which tourists happily buy in souvenir shops. For money supply needs, the country uses U.S. dollars (one dollar is equivalent to one balboa). The United States decided to hit this sensitive point. It "froze" all ready cash in the banks, which are practically U.S.-controlled. You do not have to be an economist to realize what chaos is caused to a country's economy if such a link as money is removed from the chain of its money exchange relationships. This is one of the surest ways of paralyzing the economy. Wages cannot be received, even if they have been earned. Goods cannot be bought even with a check book. And what are those who do not have them, who even before could hardly make ends meet, going to do? Where can they get money to buy bread and milk? It is not difficult to imagine that the provocateurs immediately attempted to direct the justified dissatisfaction with this position against the Panamanian leadership.

General Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces, has incurred particular U.S. hostility. It tried to remove him from this post with threats and promises. Literally the other day an unprecedented U.S. step followed: President R. Reagan stated right out at a meeting with congressional leaders that his administration wants General Noriega to leave his post.

Meanwhile the United States is sending to Panama around 100 Marines and a Navy peace-keeping group. Only the Pentagon and the CIA know precisely, apparently, what is behind this. The 82d Airborne Division is in combat readiness. These preparations cannot fail to cause alarm: The world well knows what often follows this. The statement by State Department spokesman Redman that the United States has "no plans for military intervention" in Panama is not reassuring. The same Redman stated, by the way: "It is still too early to talk about restoring the aid which has been terminated until democratic reforms take place in Panama." Thus the United States determines what is democratic in another country, and what is not.

By means of an economic diktat and military preparations, the United States wants to force Panama to give up its sovereignty. I would like to confirm that the sympathy and solidarity of the great majority of the world community are on the side of the Central American republic. As

regards the United States, Washington is once again clearly demonstrating what a gulf there is between verbal declarations about rights and democracy and the reality of its imperialist policy.

Central American Nations To Hold Panama Meeting
LD211559 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 21 TASS—More than 50 leaders of progressive political parties and movements of 27 Latin American countries are to hold a conference in the Panamanian capital in solidarity of the Latin American countries with Panama which is repelling the aggressive intrigues of U.S. imperialism. The conference scheduled for March 25 and 26 has been initiated by the Revolutionary-Democratic Party and the Panamanian Revolutionary Party. In the statement for the press last Sunday, the sponsors of the conference stressed that the forum will be held at a time when Panama is going through the most acute political and economic crisis in her history, which was instigated by the USA and the local reaction led by it.

CBS Cited on U.S. Troop 'Buildup' in Panama
LD220903 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT
22 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

The Pentagon has begun moving reinforcements to Panama in a steady flow, the U.S. television network CBS reported.

The troop buildup in the Panama Canal Zone, it said, had begun last Friday with the dispatch of additional units to the Howard Base.

By now, some 300 servicemen had been sent to Panama, but a total of at least 600 was expected to be moved there additionally, CBS Television added.

It drew attention to the fact that new arrivals included mostly military police as well as transportation and communications specialists.

According to the CBS, they could be used for organizing a major airlift either to evacuate members of U.S. families from Panama or to bring U.S. troops into that country.

Gromyko, Uruguay's Sanguinetti Hold Moscow Talks
PM221417 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 March
1988
Second Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS report under heading "Uruguayan President's Visit"]

[Text] Talks were held in the Kremlin on 21 March between Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and President Julio Maria Sanguinetti of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

Taking part in the talks were:

On the Soviet side: Petr Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee; Arnold Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Aleksandr Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; Karen Brutents, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Viktor Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and Igor Laptev, USSR ambassador to Uruguay.

On the Uruguayan side: Luis Barrios, foreign minister; Ricardo Zerbino, minister of economy and finance; Senators Jorge Batlle and Alfredo Traversoni; Liber Seregni, chairman of the Broad Front; Federico Slinger, bank president; Nelson Nicolielo, member of the Supreme Court; Isidoro Hodara, general director of the Board of Foreign Trade of the Ministry of Economy and Finance; Ernesto Carrau, chairman of the Chamber of Trade; Julio Franco, president of the Union of Exporters; Mario Fernandez, roving ambassador; Nestor Cosentino, chairman of the Chamber of Industry; Walter Nessi, under secretary to the Presidency; and Juan Jose Real, Uruguayan ambassador to the USSR.

An in-depth exchange of views on the entire spectrum of the most important international problems and questions of Soviet-Uruguayan relations was conducted in a constructive spirit and in an atmosphere of amicability and frankness.

A coincidence or closeness of positions of the USSR and Uruguay emerged during discussion of cardinal tasks of the present day. The sides agreed that the present stage of mankind's development demands an approach toward the complex realities of the modern world that is based on new political thinking and deep adherence to the cause of strengthening international security.

Averting the nuclear threat, stressed the participants in the talks, is possible only under the condition of uniting efforts of all countries, irrespective of their sociopolitical system, size, and geographical position. Along these lines, the need was noted to deploy broad efforts on the part of all states in order to form an all-embracing system of international security.

The sides thoroughly reviewed the state of affairs in the area of talks on disarmament. In this context, it was noted that the ratification and coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which was signed during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States, ought to a decisive degree promote the consolidation of positive tendencies in the world arena.

This treaty opens up the process of real disarmament, a central place in which is now occupied by the reduction by a half of strategic offensive weapons, on which talks are taking place in Geneva. The halting of nuclear tests, the banning of chemical weapons, real steps toward reducing conventional weapons—all of these measures will promote implementation of ideas for creating a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. The sides stressed that existing treaties and agreements in the sphere of limiting weapons, including the ABM Treaty, ought to be strictly observed.

They stressed the necessity for further consolidation of the concept of non-proliferation of nuclear arms, in particular the strengthening of the treaty on banning this type of arms in Latin America (Tlatelolco Treaty), and also the creation of nonnuclear zones and zones of peace and cooperation, including in the South Atlantic.

The sides examined the situation in various regions of the world. They expressed firm confidence that the settlement of regional conflicts on the basis of international law, UN decisions, and the political will of the involved sides, would no doubt lead to reduction of tension, strengthening of universal security, and establishment of trust among states.

The situation in Latin America was examined both from the point of view of the struggle for peace and from the position of democratization of public life, also taking into account economic problems that the continent faces.

Participants in the talks condemned the manifestation of a policy of pressure and interference in the affairs of Central American countries by states that have nothing to do with this region. The partners in the talks spoke in support of a solution to the crisis situation in this region by way of implementing the Guatemala accords. The great importance of the peace efforts of the Contadora Group, and the Contadora Support Group, as well as other states striving to achieve a just political settlement in the region, was stressed.

Closing the discussion on Latin American problems, the interlocutors exchanged succinct descriptions:

J.M. Sanguinetti: I have tried to talk briefly—in broad strokes, as it were—so as to create an overall picture.

A.A. Gromyko: And very interesting strokes they were. They are like a camera flash—and then you get the whole picture.

The Middle East problem, which has a definite relevance for Uruguay as it buys oil from countries of that region, was examined. An animated exchange of views from the point of view of reaching a political settlement in the Middle East and finding ways of eliminating the obstacles hindering progress toward this goal took place.

In discussing the Afghan question, the Soviet side affirmed support for the course toward national reconciliation being implemented by the Government of Afghanistan, and the firm intention to work toward a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from there. The Uruguayan side expressed a positive attitude toward such a position.

In considering questions of contemporary international economic relations, the participants in the talks remarked upon the coincidence of their conceptual approaches: These relations can and should be regulated in the interests of all states. The sides spoke in favor of the expediency of cultivating multilateral dialogue for the purpose of establishing a new international economic order. Here the close link between disarmament and development, and the need to transfer resources currently being used for military purposes to the needs of social and economic development, were stressed.

Andrey Gromyko informed Julio Maria Sanguinetti about the restructuring underway in the Soviet Union, which will lead to transformations in all spheres of the life of Soviet society, and about the widespread democratization. It was stressed that all these changes are indissolubly linked with traditional Leninist foreign policy and with the profound adherence of the Soviet people to the cause of peace, international cooperation, and socialism.

The president of Uruguay listened with great attention and interest to the information about life in the USSR and commented that the grandiose transformations underway in the Soviet Union have great significance for all countries in the world. He wished the Soviet people successes in implementing the planned targets.

There was a thorough discussion of issues relating to Soviet-Uruguayan relations. Attention was drawn here to the deepening of bilateral political dialogue, and also to the mutual striving to expand ties in the sphere of trade, economy, and culture.

The sides advocated further expansion of cooperation on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and respect for one another's interests. They emphasized the desirability of seeking new and diverse forms of trade and economic ties, and of further improving these. Particular attention was given to the need to develop contacts at a parliamentary level, which offers the opportunity to deepen political dialogue above all.

The conviction was expressed that the visit to the USSR of President Julio Maria Sanguinetti of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay will serve to consolidate Soviet-Uruguayan relations and deepen mutual understanding between the two countries for the good of their peoples, in the interests of improving the international situation.

As a result of the talks, a joint Soviet-Uruguayan statement, the text of which will be published in the press at the end of the Uruguayan president's visit to the USSR, was agreed on. Signing of Soviet-Uruguayan documents took place in the Kremlin. Present at the signing were: on the Soviet side, Andrey Gromyko, Petr Demichev, and other officials; and on the Uruguayan side, Julio Maria Sanguinetti, and the statesmen and politicians accompanying him on his trip.

An agreement on reciprocal goods deliveries between the USSR and Uruguay for the period 1988-1990 was signed, as were letters of intent of the sides on reciprocal goods deliveries in the current year.

Gorbachev Greets Uruguay CP Leader on Birthday
PM211443 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 88
Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev message to Rodney Arismendi, secretary general of the Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee; date not given]

[Text] To Comrade Rodney Arismendi, secretary general of the Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee

Dear Comrade Rodney Arismendi!

On your 70th birthday, I cordially congratulate you—an eminent figure in the communist movement, a patriot and internationalist, and a true friend of the Soviet Union.

From your youth you entered into the revolutionary movement under the influence of October and Lenin's ideas. You have devoted your life, your political and theoretical activity, your brilliant gifts, and your rich experience to the service of the humanitarian ideals of communism and the struggle for the working people's vital interests and the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy, and socialism.

Soviet Communists also make a high assessment of your contribution to strengthening fraternal relations between our parties and to developing friendship between the Soviet and Uruguayan peoples.

I wish you, Comrade Arismendi, good health and successes in your noble activity.

M. Gorbachev

Sandinist-Contra Dialogue Resumes in Sapoa
LD221418 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT
22 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 22 TASS—Direct ceasefire talks between the Nicaraguan Government and leaders of counterrevolutionary groups have started in the Nicaraguan village of Sapoa on the border with Costa Rica in

accordance with the Guatemala accords signed by presidents of five Central American countries 1st August. Shortly before the beginning of the talks, on the decision of the Nicaraguan leadership the Sandinista People's Army announced the termination of all the hostilities for three days, i.e. till the end of the meeting. The contras agreed with the decision of the Nicaraguan Government.

The talks in Sapoá became possible thanks to the persistent efforts of the Nicaraguan leadership aimed at putting an end to bloodshed in the country and achieving national reconciliation. Two previous meetings were disrupted through the fault of leaders of the so-called "Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance" who refused to start direct contacts with the Sandinista leadership. Talks held with the mediation of Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica and Guatemala failed to bring desired results either because the contras put forward the demands, including political ones (which runs counter to the Guatemala accords) that were absolutely unacceptable.

The Nicaraguan delegation at the talks is led by Humberto Ortega, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and defense minister of Nicaragua. Joao Baena Soares, secretary general of the Organization of American States, and Cardinal Obando y Bravo attend the session as observers.

Humberto Ortega told journalists after the first day of the Sapoá talks was over that in the course of the discussion the Nicaraguan Government had put forward concrete proposals on the termination of hostilities in the country in accordance with the Guatemala agreements. He said as well that in response to the initiatives of the Sandinista leadership aimed at achieving ceasefire as soon as possible the contras leaders came up with counter-proposals envisaging a provisional 30-day armistice in the course of which, in their opinion, the sides should analyze all the problems connected with a final termination of hostilities.

Along with the Sapoá talks, a national dialogue between representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and opposition political parties broken up unilaterally by the opposition was resumed in Managua after a three-month interval.

Eight out of 14 parties and political groups taking part in the dialogue signed a joint document with the government which expressed readiness to continue a political dialogue started within the framework of the fulfillment of the Guatemala accords.

Jose Leon Talavera, representative of the government and deputy minister of foreign affairs of Nicaragua who is taking part in the dialogue with the opposition, said that the government and the opposition parties had urged participants in the Sapoá meeting to reach a ceasefire agreement which would promote the establishment of durable peace in Nicaragua. Apart from it, they

urged governments of countries of the region, as well as peoples of other countries of the world to promote in every way the question for peace in Central America.

Appeal for Peaceful Protests

LD220735 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT
22 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov:

After a break of three months national dialogue has been resumed in Nicaragua between the government of the Republic and the opposition political parties, which was unilaterally broken off by the opposition.

Eight out of the 14 parties and political groups participating in the dialogue signed with the government a joint document expressing preparedness to carry on the political dialogue. It says that the country's political problems should be resolved through negotiations. The sides have appealed to all of Nicaragua's political organizations and trade union associations to refrain from acts of violence in the course of public marches, rallies and protest actions. It has also been decided to set up mixed commissions from among trade union and administrative bodies to meet the demands of the participants in the strike movement.

As Jose Leon Talavera, Nicaragua's deputy foreign minister, stressed upon completion of the round of talks, the government and opposition parties have urged the participants in the meeting in Sapoá to ensure an effective ceasefire that would contribute to ending the war in Nicaragua and achieving lasting peace in the region.

Addressing a meeting with opposition, President Daniel Ortega of the Republic voiced hope that the other opposition parties would also sign the joint document.

Calero Represents Contras

LD220014 Moscow TASS in English 2255 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Sapoá (Nicaragua) March 22 TASS—On Monday the direct talks between the Nicaraguan Government and the leadership of counter-revolution on a ceasefire in line with the Guatemalan agreements signed by the presidents of the central American states last August started in this small Nicaraguan village on the border with Costa Rica.

The Nicaraguan delegation at the talks is led by Humberto Ortega, member of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] national leadership and defence minister. The contra leadership is represented by Adolfo Calero, the founder of the biggest counter-revolutionary organization Nicaraguan Democratic Forces. Joao Baena Soares, secretary general of the Organization of American States, and Cardinal Obando y Bravo are present at the meeting as observers.

U.S. Tie to UK Falkland Exercises Viewed

*PM221300 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Playing at War"]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 21 Mar—General A.N. Carlier, chief of the British military garrison stationed in the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, has calmed down a little for the first time after several tense days: At his request, reinforcements were shipped in promptly from Britain to the archipelago to rebuff "foreign aggression." The troops are now "engaged in staunch fighting" against the "orange forces"—that is the codename for the enemy, by which London implies the Argentines. The flat, rocky locality facilitates the "defenders'" task, especially since it is familiar to some of them from the events of 6 years ago, when the archipelago and the waters that wash it were the arena of the armed Anglo-Argentine conflict.

Since 7 March, the jet engines of Phantoms have once again roared over the islands, while bomb blasts shake the ground. British generals, playing at war, are holding provocative maneuvers in close proximity to the coast of Argentina. Listening to official spokesmen for the Tory government, this gross "show of muscle" is utterly harmless and is designed, if anything, to "help lessen tension" in the region. By their logic, the rapid shipment of a landing force to the archipelago will make it possible in future to reduce the numerical strength of the garrison stationed there. One can only wonder, the London politicians say with feigned perplexity, why have the Latin Americans become so alarmed?

Commenting on the maneuvers in the South Atlantic, the Argentine press cannot help linking them to the shipping of American troops to Honduras and asking the justified question: Is there any connection? Indeed, at approximately the same time, the United States and Britain—two countries that play a prominent role in NATO—carried out the shipment of major landing forces to Central America and the South Atlantic, and moreover on the American side, soldiers from the notorious 82d Airborne Division, which took part in the occupation of Grenada, are involved. The Rapid Deployment Forces have undergone another combat "running-in session," and it is they who are assigned a major role in suppressing the national liberation struggle in Latin America and any other part of the globe. The

experience of the British military department, which delivered the troops to the South Atlantic in less than 20 hours, could certainly come in useful here. The Falkland (Malvinas) Islands have long attracted the gaze of NATO strategists who dream of full control of sea communications. As the Argentine newspaper LA NACION writes, this archipelago can be seen as an important site within the framework of SDI. It could also be used as a rapid early warning base for NATO.

Washington gave London every support in 1982, when Britain occupied the island, and now, albeit not as openly as 6 years ago, it is doing everything to strengthen its ally's military presence there. There can be no doubt that the British military base on the Falklands, where the provocative maneuvers are now taking place, is designated on NATO maps as yet another "unsinkable aircraft carrier."

Rightist Alliance Wins Salvadoran Election

*LD221144 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT
22 Mar 88*

[Text] Havana March 22 TASS—The rightist Republican Nationalist Alliance (RNA) of El Salvador has claimed victory in last Sunday's legislative and municipal elections.

With an official statement on the election returns yet to be published by the authorities, the RNA (known for its close ties with the U.S. CIA) said its representatives had won in the capital and 12 other major cities.

Besides, the alliance boasts it will carry off the majority of seats in the Legislative Assembly (parliament).

Salvadoran patriotic organizations view the elections as a farce staged to build up U.S. military involvement in El Salvador's internal affairs.

As for the country's parliament, the patriots charge, the Duarte regime and its U.S. patrons are using it to railroad millions upon millions in allocations for a war against the people, with the local authorities being directly involved in the punitive operations.

The people of El Salvador ignored that travesty of elections as less than a half on the country's 1.5 million eligible voters are believed to have come to the polls.

Tolstykh Meets With Cuban CP Leader

PM220953 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Has Taken Place"]

[Text] B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received on 18 March Pedro Miret Prieto, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers. Questions of the further improvement and broadening of scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Cuba were discussed in the course of the conversation.

Delegation Returns From Guadeloupe CP Congress

PM221249 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88
Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "From the Guadeloupe Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] On 17 March the CPSU delegation led by L.F. Bobykin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department, which has been taking part in the Ninth Guadeloupe Communist Party Congress, returned to Moscow from Guadeloupe.

Political & Social

Statements, Commentary on Nationalities Issue

RSFSR on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD221206 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1127 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—A session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held in Moscow today. It examined the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in the Azerbaijani and Armenian SSR's.

V.I. Vorotnikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman, made a statement on this issue. Then a discussion took place.

The unanimously adopted decision says:

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expresses anxiety and alarm in connection with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in the Azerbaijani and Armenian SSR's and believes that it is in contradiction to the further strengthening of friendship, unity, and cohesion of all fraternal peoples of our country, to the democratization of the public and state life, and to the guarantee of constitutional rights and interests of Soviet citizens of various nationalities.

Guided by the principles of the Leninist nationalities' policy, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium calls upon the Supreme Soviet Presidia of Azerbaijan and Armenia with an urgent recommendation to do everything they can to introduce order and to preserve tranquility among the population of these republics in the name of strengthening the friendship of peoples and for a successful solution of the tasks of restructuring.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium asks the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to adopt resolute measures aimed at observing the requirements of the Soviet Constitution on territories of the aforementioned republics, and at further strengthening the Union of SSR's and all its state and autonomous formations, and the utmost cohesion of Soviet peoples.

'Irresponsibility' of Demands

PM211705 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 3

["Own Information" article: "Contrary to Prudence"]

[Text] An article appearing on the same page of our newspaper ("There Were No Readymade Models...") says: "We must now be prepared for open discussions on nationality problems. For this purpose we must be able

to argue and persuade others." Let us add: And to be persuaded, to heed not only our own arguments, and not allowing anything to take precedence over our sense of responsibility.

These truisms unwittingly crossed our minds when we studied the material of the latest session held by the so-called "Karabakh" Committee at the Movie House premises in Yerevan 19 March. This session lasted almost 8 hours. Some 700 people listened to the orators inside the hall, with a further 3,000 in the adjoining square where loudspeakers relayed the proceedings.

The speakers were mainly representatives of the intelligentsia: scientific workers, writers, lecturers. They spoke not for themselves but "on behalf of the Armenian people" and spoke exclusively about "our people's interests."

What were they demanding in their discussion of Nagorno-Karabakh's complex problems? They were demanding that rallies and meetings be held at all enterprises to elect new party committees, trade union committees, and so on; that Yerevan be declared a "dead city," in other words that nobody should go out on the streets; that a hunger strike be declared; and...even that Armenia be declared a "nonparty Soviet republic." Furthermore, they right away made it clear who the leaders of such a republic could be, naming I. Muradyan and G. Safaryan, two of the orators present in the hall, and describing them as "excellent politicians."

Poetess S. Kaputikyan, trying to bring the orators back to their senses, called on them not to hold a rally and reported that this opinion was also shared by Professor G. Yepiskoposov and S. Mikoyan, members of the Nagorno-Karabakh delegation who were received by Ye.K. Ligachev. She read an address by V. Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, calling for calm to enable the appropriate authorities [instantsiya] to examine the Karabakh question.

Alas, they failed to instill prudence. That same I. Muradyan, candidate of sciences and leader of the "Karabakh Committee," reiterated demands consisting of several points.

We are not fabricating or exaggerating anything. We are presenting these points in exactly the way they were heard inside the Movie House. According to Muradyan, it appears that nothing is more important now than to demand from the CPSU Central Committee... "an end to the slander against the Armenian people." This was listed as the first point. In I. Muradyan's words, "Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have faith in neither Moscow, nor in the Central Committee, nor in supreme justice, nor in the Russian people, nor in anything else." How is it possible to perceive the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's instructions to the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat to organize an

in-depth and comprehensive study of the problems that have accumulated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast as "slander against the Armenian people?"

The demands came raining down as if out of a cornucopia. They demanded that a "state program" be adopted on the resettlement of the Armenian population from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and also of the "refugees from Sumgait" (and what fate was in store for the section of the population not classified as Armenian?). They even demanded that the Azerbaijan SSR be accused at the International Court in The Hague of "having annexed Armenian territories." They demanded that appeals on the question of the "Karabakh tragedy" be addressed to governments, parliaments, and public organizations. Imagine, these points were adopted virtually unanimously.

The press has already reported the amazing coordination and organization which was in evidence at previous rallies; it was noted that it was known in advance where people should be directed and when, what slogans should be chanted. At the session under discussion it was possible to see how this is done. I. Muradyan issued direct instructions on how the rally should be organized: Organize guard detachments...cooperate more closely with the Ministry of Internal Affairs to prevent possible provocations...avoid taking children to rallies...set up a coordinating council. Finally a word about funding: In one of the city's savings banks accounts for contributions to the "Karabakh Committee" have been opened.

The following incident also illustrates the atmosphere which reigned in the hall. When N. Agalovyan, director of the Armenian Academy of Sciences Mechanics Institute, proposed that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo instruction to the Secretariat to examine the problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast be approved he was booed and driven off the rostrum.

The press came under fire, too. There was much talk about glasnost, but then they agreed to boycott the Armenian press. Earlier there had also been demands to boycott the central newspapers. It is obvious that the champions of glasnost see glasnost as a one-way street, where "traffic" in their direction only is permitted.

It was nonetheless decided not to declare Yerevan a "dead city" but to hold a rally and acknowledge 26 March as "the most explosive day." Again there was evidence of outrageous irresponsibility, both in words and in thoughts: "We are heading for catastrophic events." "We will fight to the death."

Although the journalist Z. Balayan expressed doubts about the effectiveness of the adopted "program," he said at the same time that "there was no way back," and that "the promised socioeconomic transformations in

the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are hardly likely to have any effect." So that is how it is! These transformations have barely been outlined and they are already being rejected.

To read this kind of thing is painful and bitter. Against the backdrop of the tragedy which has taken place in Sumgait, it is quite easy to work up anger and a thirst for revenge in oneself and one's compatriots and to drive oneself, and those around, to insanity. However, sound decisions are not taken in a fit of anger. Meanwhile, what this issue needs most is sound decisions. The final word here nonetheless belongs to the Armenian people and not to those who claim to speak on their behalf.

Azerbaijan Leaders Meet Officials

* C220802 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
J440 GMT 22 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers report that on 19 and 20 March, Comrades Kyamran Bagirov, Oktay Bagirov, Svetlana Kasumova, Mikhail Zachev, Ziya Yusuf-Zade, Vasilii Konovalov, Ramiz Mekhtiyev, Isay Mamedov, Fuad Musayev, Telman Orudzhev, Artur Rasi-Zade, Lidiya Rasulova, Gasan Seidov, Sahib Elefterov, Nazim Mamedov, and Nuraddin Mustafayev, together with (Parchenko), deputy chief of department [not further specified] of the CPSU Central Committee, other responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee, Poghosyan and [name indistinct], secretaries of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom, and leaders of Azerbaijan SSR party, soviet, and economic organs met with workers collectives of Baku, Kirovabad, Nakhichevan, Stepanakert, Sumgait, and Alibayramli; workers collectives of the Yevlakh, (?Shalyan, Dimitli, Zambulakh), Apsheron, [name indistinct], and [name indistinct] rayons; and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast rayons of Martakert, (?Adri), and Martouni.

They made inquiries into the practical implementation by the party organizations of the tasks specified in the appeal of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to normalize the situation in our republic, ensure the harmonious operation of the national economic complex, and strengthen the general ideological-political and internationalist education of the working people. Frank and lively discussions took place on the local progress of perestroika. Comprehensive answers were given to the numerous questions that are troubling people. An in-depth consideration of the Leninist nationalities policy of the party at the present stage took place.

Procurator Investigating Sumgait

LD211903 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT
20 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—As it was reported earlier, a group of hooligans staged riots involving violence and other offenses in Sumgait, a town in Azerbaijan, on February 28.

A special team of investigators of the USSR Procurator's Office is conducting a thorough investigation of every instance of these crimes and violations.

It was established that 32 persons of various nationalities had perished as a result of criminal actions while 197 persons, including about a hundred militiamen, had been injured. There were 12 cases of rape, more than a hundred apartments had been robbed, 26 utility service units and more than twenty motor vehicles were damaged.

Most of those who had taken part in the murders, rape, assaults and theft have been identified by now. Some of the 42 persons who have been arrested have a criminal record. About 400 persons have been brought to administrative account for violation of public order.

The violations of law late in February in Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, where as a result of clashes two persons had died and some 50 were injured, are also being investigated.

Work is being continued to identify the instigators and organisers of the acts of violence and violation of public order.

Those guilty will be put on trial shortly.

Armenian Azeris on 'Panic-Mongers'

PM211415 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
4 Mar 88 p 1

[Own correspondent E. Bagiryants report under the rubric "Today's Interview": "Condemning Panic-Mongers"]

[Excerpt] Kafan—Alarming news has been coming from Kafan in the last few days about the departure of several families of Azerbaijani nationality from the rayon. Our correspondent met with railroad worker I. Ismailov and housewife G. Mekhtiyeva who, having gone to Zangelan, have—like others—returned to their homes.

[Bagiryants] What prompted you to depart?

[Interviewees] When it was announced that the republic party organization had decided to request the CPSU Central Committee to set up a special commission to study the question of Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Oblast, rumors started spreading in Kafanskiy Rayon's Azerbaijani villages that we should pick up our kids and go to Baku: Apparently things were soon to become unpleasant for Azerbaijanis.

[Bagiryants] Were there any grounds for taking such rumors seriously?

[Interviewees] No, there were not. Basically, we were deceived. And we, grown-up people, fell for all sorts of rumors and provocations. We have lived with Armenians for centuries in this land, and there has not been a single incident of hostility on the basis of national differences. We Azerbaijanis living in Kafanskiy Rayon today condemn the panic-mongers and those who supply grist for their mill. As for those in Karabakh, it is Soviet people's sacred right to decide their own fate. Last week's events must under no circumstances have a negative effect on the friendship of the fraternal peoples of Azerbaijanis and Armenians. This is our profound belief. [passage omitted]

Armenian Writer on Situation

PM211239 London MORNING STAR in English
18 Mar 88 p 4

[Interview with Armenian Writers' Union member Armen Oganessian by Kate Clark: "An Armenian's View of the Soviet Debate on Autonomous Republics"]

[Text] Armen Oganessian is a member of the Armenian Writers' Union, deputy editor of the Sovetakan Grogh publishing house, and has been a member of the Communist Party since 1961.

He came to Moscow this week to the editorial offices of PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and other papers and journals to put the argument for more openness in information about the nationality problems concerning the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh.

"All I want is the truth and openness," he said, speaking in a cramped back room of the ZNAMYA journal offices, where I met him.

His concern—and that of all Armenians, he says, is that the lack of information in the Soviet media on this delicate nationality problem is making matters worse, not better.

Mr Oganessian's feeling echoed what last week's MOSCOW NEWS said about this: "Late and incomplete information had a negative effect on the February developments.

"There have been eight days of mass rallies in Yerevan," he said, showing me the photographs of the huge crowd at these meetings, "entirely peaceful, not a soul hurt...and what of it?" he asked.

"All the media is talking of is 'friendship of the peoples', in this way debasing the meaning and strength of the noble idea of friendship among peoples," Mr Oganessian remarked, a trifle bitterly.

"This is not the right time for that, now is the time for full and frank information to be given," he added, blaming this superficial and meaningless media information on "people who are against perestroika."

"If things are just going to be plastered over, then there's no forecasting what may happen either in Armenia or in Azerbaijan."

Mr Oganessian is a member of the ad hoc Karabakh Committee, chaired by the famous astronomer Viktor Ambartsumyan, and including several leading Armenian cultural figures.

This committee had been set up, he explained, to press the case for the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, which was made part of Azerbaijan in 1923, to be returned to Armenia, and to make sure that all actions are kept within a legal and constitutional framework.

Ever since the '50s, the Armenians have been pressing for the issue to be re-examined. Constitutional appeals have been lodged with the Supreme Soviet on several occasions since.

"It's not a matter of any mechanical attachment of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia," Mr Oganessian explained. "It's an ethnic, socio-cultural and in the first place, a political issue."

He went on to catalogue what he described as the dismal record of the Azerbaijani authorities in the Karabakh region.

"They didn't build enough roads, or houses," he said.

He accused the Azerbaijani authorities of "peaceful annexation" by "resettling Azerbaijanis there," citing the example of the town of Shusha.

"In Nagorno-Karabakh 82 per cent of the population are Armenians—yet they are closing down Armenian schools there," he continued.

"Armenian children there cannot study the history of their people, only that of Azerbaijan," he alleged.

"In Azerbaijan's Ministry of Education there's not a single official in charge of compiling curricula who knows the Armenian language," he asserted.

Mr Oganessian said that the organised picket in Stepanakert—the autonomous region's main city—had been called off on Mikhail Gorbachev's birthday.

"People just went home. They have vested all their hopes in perestroika and glasnost."

Mr Oganessian was also critical of the Armenian government and Communist Party leadership, saying that they had been "inactive, inert and afraid of any complications" for decades over this issue.

Two hours' talk with this serious and likeable writer convinced me of one thing: that the problems accumulated run very deep and have historical, political and religious overtones which cannot be ignored.

Armenia is a small nation, with more of its population living abroad than in Soviet Armenia, as a result of the tragic 1915 genocide by Turkish Muslim rulers, when half of Armenia's population was massacred.

With memories like these still very much alive in Armenia, it seems obvious that the authorities of any ethnic-Armenian area would have to be especially careful not to trample on national culture, language—and dignity.

"The situation is quiet in Armenia," Mr Oganessian said. "And it will remain quiet unless people become disillusioned and stop believing that somebody is really tackling the problem."

Readers: 'Come to Your Senses'

PM211417 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Second Edition p 2

[Roundup of PRAVDA readers' letters addressed to people in Azerbaijan and Armenia: "Our Dear Brothers!"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Many PRAVDA readers' letters to people in Azerbaijan and Armenia open with these words. They are alarmed and concerned at the events in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Quite rightly they see in these events attempts to sow seeds of national discord in the union of fraternal peoples, to harm the cause of restructuring, and to complicate the economic and political situation in the country. The working people are calling on the peoples of the two fraternal republics to heed the voice of reason, not to succumb to emotions, and to quickly find their normal labor rhythm again.

Friendship Is Our Strength [subhead]

Our dear Azeri and Armenian brothers! We workers of the Minsk computer equipment association are writing to you. The computers produced by our enterprise include components and devices produced in various cities of our homeland. From Armenia we receive primary power supply devices—choke capacitors—and from Azerbaijan integrated microcircuits. However, in recent days interruptions in the supply of precisely these components have negatively affected the association's work. We were distressed to read in the press about the tragic phenomena taking place in your republics. The flareups of national discord and hostility and even instances of fratricide resulting from them are alien and incomprehensible to us Belorussians and representatives of other nationalities working at the association. The appeal of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the peoples of your republics expressed all this quite correctly.

We call on you once again and most earnestly to give your attention to this document. After all, the CPSU Central Committee has already decided to convene a plenum which will discuss questions pertaining to national relations. Why do you lack the self-possession to work and the patience to wait for the decisions of the party forum? It is time to seriously attend to work and not to let yourselves and us, your brothers, down.

On the instructions of the collective: A. Anisimov, radio equipment installation worker, Belorussian; Ye. Zhendarov, installation worker team leader, Belorussian Supreme Soviet deputy, Russian; A. Medzhidov, in charge of an information-computer center unit, Azeri.

Devoting Our Efforts to the Common Cause [subhead]

An open letter to the collective of the Yerevan "Ar-mavto" association hydraulic equipment plant.

We know, comrades, that events are currently taking place where you are, which demand special attention. The whole country is hoping that lofty international traditions, wisdom, and circumspection will gain the upper hand.

We, just like you, are confident that the complications which may arise in a big family of peoples can and must be resolved. The main thing is not to lose one's head, not to undermine the friendship of the Soviet peoples, and to focus on concrete concerns and on end results. Only they can reliably strengthen mutual understanding. But your work seems to have ground to a halt.

Our electrical engineering plant supplies various electrical loaders to all parts of the country. You produce assemblies which are used in these loaders. But we have received hardly any of these assemblies and as a result are unable to meet our obligations to our clients.

We are pinning our hopes on you, your class tempering, your skilled hands, and your bright minds.

V. Zakharov, deputy chairman of a labor collective council, lathe-operator; V. Dragoste, leader of a team of electro-welders; B. Balan, fitter; A. Smutu, acting assembly shop chief; V. Aranetskiy, turner; N. Burdenyuk, chief technical control section; and I. Yatsko, toolmaker.

Time To Come to Your Senses [subhead]

I have been following the reports from Armenia and Azerbaijan with alarm. Naturally, all kinds of complications can arise in life. They also exist in the nationalities question. This is a result of our, at times, formalistic approach to international education. The party has talked about this frankly. And not only talked—it is

planning to discuss this problem in depth and comprehensively at a CPSU Central Committee plenum. Its decisions, I am convinced, will affect the development of inter-nation relations in the most positive fashion possible.

Do the people who continue to organize rallies and demonstrations in Armenia and Azerbaijan and to put forward reciprocal claims and reproaches not understand this? It is not merely that such actions are aggravating the situation and further inflaming heads which are already hot enough. After all, our vital cause, the work in favor of restructuring, is suffering. Is it not obvious that the union of fraternal republics is an interconnected economic complex? This year we have failed to receive 5 tonnes of electric cable from Armenia and 70 tonnes of metal from Sumgait. Furthermore, our association has switched to economic accountability and self-financing.

It is time, comrades, to come to your senses, to get down to hard work. Ultimately, this is what international duty demands.

Ya. Avots, fitter team leader at the "Rizhskiy Elektromashinostroitelnyy Zavod" association.

Perestroika Spells Collapse for 'Irresponsible' *LD211907 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 21 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—Soviet people have full-heartedly accepted the ideas of perestroika and support it by their deeds. The Communists and working people of Soviet Armenia are actively taking part in the socialist renovation shoulder-to-shoulder with the other fraternal members of the single multi-nation family of Soviet peoples. But there are forces, there are individuals for whom perestroika spells collapse of their ambitions and irresponsible claims. Cynically and perfidiously they are prepared to make capital on the difficulties of perestroika, exploit the emotions of people for provocative aims so as to reverse society's development.

It was such people who on March 19 organized a gathering in Yerevan calling it a meeting of the "Karabakh Committee". Those at the meeting who called for reason and calm were simply muzzled and driven out of the hall. A certain I. Muradyan, who is bent on becoming "leader of the nation", stated supposedly on behalf of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region that "they have no faith in Moscow, the Central Committee, supreme justice, the Russian people, in anything at all".

An ultimatum to party and Soviet authorities containing a threat to look for support beyond the country's borders was even drawn up. The task was set at this gathering "to report for work but to do nothing and instead to hold meetings at which party and trade union committees

should be re-elected". A certain K. Nagapetyan called for strikes, including mass hunger strikes, and demanded that Armenia be declared a "non-party" republic.

The already mentioned I. Muradyan proposed to form "guard detachments". Using the names of gullible persons extremists have opened two accounts in saving banks to collect money for their needs.

They referred to themselves as "excellent politicians worthy to become leaders of the republic".

The country's working people are confident that the Communists, the glorious working class, the intelligentsia, the young people of Soviet Armenia will not follow the irresponsible elements. Perestroyka will continue, we will solve the most complex problems in an atmosphere of friendship, peace and calm. Perestroyka cannot be stopped.

Comparison of PRAVDA Editions on Unrest

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 March carries in its first edition on page 3 an article by special correspondents for Armenian and Azerbaijani SSR's on the unrest in Nagorno-Karabakh. The PRAVDA first edition has been compared with the PRAVDA 21 March version taken from the second edition and published in the 21 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 55-59, revealing the following variations:

page 55, column one, paragraph one, last line reads:...in inflaming passions—can also act as a spark in a powder magazine. (supplying variant phrase)

column one, paragraph five, line six reads:...by religious differences. In 1918-1920 alone almost one-fifth of the inhabitants...(omitting phrase)

page 56, column two, paragraph one, line four reads:...sometimes—by developing democratization initiatives and glasnost...(supplying variant word)

page 59, column one, paragraph one, line nine reads:...acting chief Dzhabarov was dismissed from the internal affairs organs and expelled from the party. Gorispolkom Chairman Mamedov...(supplying variant phrase)

New Tatar Demonstrations for Return to Homeland AU220755 Paris AFP in English 0211 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (AFP)—Soviet Tatars have held fresh demonstrations to press their case for being allowed to return to their Crimean homeland from where many were deported in 1944, a Tatar spokesman said here Monday.

The demonstrations were staged especially in Crimea and in Uzbekistan over the weekend, but a small group also demonstrated Sunday in Moscow, where 18 Tatars were briefly detained for questioning, spokesman Nafe Bekirov said.

A nine-member delegation met Monday with a representative of the Communist Party's Central Committee, Aleksandr Molokoyedov, the spokesman added.

Mr. Bekirov quoted Mr. Molokoyedov as saying that a Central Committee discussion of the issue of nationalities in the Soviet Union would not necessarily take place at its next meeting nor at a special session.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev indicated on February 18 that the Central Committee should look into the nationalities problem, especially in the light of recent clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

Uzbek Premier's Letter Reports Dismissals

PM181013 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88
Second Edition p 2

[Letter from Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers G. Kadyrov under the rubric "After Criticism": "Without Making Allowances for Position"]

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers has examined the package of questions raised in the article "Making Allowances for Position" published in PRAVDA 21 December 1987. We regard as correct and fair the criticism expressed on this question in the newspaper which posed in a principled manner the problem of increasing the personal responsibility of leading cadres for eradicating negative phenomena.

Cases of reducing volumes when drawing up the 1987 plan cited in the article have been discussed in the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Motor Transport. Considering that G. Zakhriddinov, deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers; A. Makhmudov, deputy chairman of Gosplan; and A. Azimbekov, Uzbek SSR minister of motor transport, have, by their unworthy actions compromised themselves and in practice lost the moral right to remain in leading work, it is deemed inexpedient to make further use of them in these posts. They have been relieved of their posts for serious shortcomings permitted in the leadership. Sh. Niyazbekov, chief of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs transport and communications department, was relieved of his post at the same time. By a decision of the apparatus primary party organization, he was severely reprimanded. All these former leaders have been sent to lower-ranking work in their specialized fields.

The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers has elaborated and is implementing specific measures to increase the responsibility of leading cadres and specialists for the area of work entrusted to them and for their rigorous

fulfillment of party and government demands to step up the struggle to eradicate overreporting, misrepresentation, and the deception of the state in national economic sectors.

G. Kadyrov, Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers chairman

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium To Convene 7 Apr
LD221019 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian
0130 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decree on convening the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed that the 8th session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation be convened on 7 April 1988 in Tashkent.

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reports that the following questions will be proposed for examination by the 8th session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation:

On the general scheme for running the national economy of the Uzbek SSR;

On a Uzbek SSR draft law on public debate of important questions of state life of the Uzbek SSR;

On the formation of a commission of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet for questions of relations between nationalities and internationalist education;

On confirming the decrees of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Uzbek Corruption Investigations Continue
PM181051 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 15 Mar 88 p 4

[Report by special correspondent A. Ganelin: "The Investigation Is Not Over... The USSR Prosecutor's Office Investigation in Uzbekistan Is Into Its Fifth Year"]

[Excerpts] Uzbek SSR—Gdlyan keeps warrants for the arrest of people taking bribes in a red file.

...But it all began with a standard gray file—"the dossier"—which first appeared in 1983, when the chief of the Bukhara Main Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation was caught red-handed accepting bribes. After the oblast police chief and the director of the state committee for trade in industrial goods had been arrested a USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation team was organized, on the instructions of USSR General Prosecutor A. Rekunkov himself, to work in Uzbekistan. Telman Khorenovich Gdlyan, USSR general prosecutor's senior

investigator for cases of special importance, was appointed leader of the team. It was then that he opened the red file, little knowing that he would need it for many years.

...Five years of work for the team means five years of daily battles. Five years of living in the republic "under a microscope," as the investigators say. In the firing line. These are not just words. It is not in vain that Sultan-Aka Kazakbayev, the investigation team's driver, always keep the car at home, letting two fierce dogs roam around at night. It has been proved that there was a plot to assassinate Telman Khorenovich. And not only him. When the team arrested a dangerous bribe-taker, the police chief at an oblast internal affairs administration, and decided to fly him to Moscow, certain unknown persons stretched a steel cable across the runway. Fortunately, the pilots spotted it.

There were complaints to the investigation team that they were making people nervous in Uzbekistan and hindering honest work. There were demands that the case be handed over to the local prosecutor's office. K. Ergashev, republican internal affairs minister, and G. Davydov, his first deputy, shot themselves and R. Gai-pov, Kashkadarya Party Obkom first secretary, committed suicide as he was being arrested. They were all guilty of accepting bribes. They had started a campaign against the team—"honest people were hauled in." But they were not summoned to a single interrogation. There were threats: "I mean, everyone has children." Millions were offered in bribes. Provocations were organized against the team.

The team worked on.

Then they were accused of not arresting the people giving bribes, in the hope that while the investigation team was busy with the "switchmen," the train carrying the organizers of the criminal bribery and theft systems would escape. The hopes that they would get bogged down in one rayon or one oblast and everything would remain as before in the others, were not fulfilled by the investigation team. It arrested on bribery charges the following "exes": four Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee secretaries, the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, the deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, seven party obkom first secretaries, a number of raykom and gorkom secretaries, the republic's minister of internal affairs and three of his deputies, eight chiefs of internal affairs administrations, and other officials. Then the charge was—"You are organizing a 1937 in the republic! That's enough arrests! What kind of reprisals are these?" Again they had to show they were only arresting those who had directed the crimes.

Ivanov beats people during interrogation! Ivanov breaks ribs!—people under investigation wrote.

It would transpire that the ribs were intact. Nikolay Veniaminovich Ivanov, USSR prosecutor general's investigators of cases of special importance, was not interested in ribs. He was trying to break the back of a bribery system.

"Why should we lock up a kolkhoz chairman, for example?" Ivanov asked. "For falsifying figures and offering bribes? What else could he do when he was ordered to falsify and bribe? If he refused they would make him stand for hours with his hands in the air. If he dropped them they would summon the chief of police and order him to be jailed. We asked one of those who issued such orders: 'Why did you do it?' You know what he said? 'So he wouldn't go against my line.'"

So who do you fight against? Those who were following this line or those who were bending it?

This was the line during the period of "Rashidovism"—make tens of thousands of people falsify cotton figures and get into bribery. The team was straightening the line out, bringing more and more crimes to light, demonstrating that people were taking bribes not just in one rayon of Uzbekistan, but in all of them. From there they went to the oblasts. From the oblasts to Tashkent. From the republic's capital to Moscow. From the platforms one would hear—"certain negative facts."

The Bukhara Party Obkom first secretary was quietly transferred, becoming republican deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources, while Internal Affairs Minister K. Ergashev, before his suicide, was pensioned off and awarded the "Valiant Labor" medal.

The investigators got no medals.

They started to operate in Uzbekistan when Rashidov was still alive. Then he died. But "Rashidovism" did not die with him. They listened to what they used to say at the beginning: "The best monument to Rashidov is the harvest of six million metric tons of cotton" and they knew that this monument would never be. There was another one though—over R4 billion in falsified cotton figures.

"Rashidovism" died, but the investigators saw a woman praying at Rashidov's grave, saw them taking armfuls of roses there on his birthday, and they knew that the battle was not over.

The "exes" were still hoping to be reborn.

The battle goes on even today.

...It was morning. A. Katusev, USSR deputy general prosecutor for investigation, was opening the conference in the "headquarters" office. The signs on the doors of the investigators' offices saying "Do Not Enter. Interrogation In Progress" were still blank side up. The drivers

from the Urgench DOSAAF, attached to the investigation team, were letting their engines warm up. The "clients"—people under investigation—had not yet been brought. Work was now beginning.

Many millionaires, to hang on to their capital, had started placing it in the safekeeping of distant relatives in remote villages. Those who were protecting the money and gold were known as "custodians" by the investigators. Many of them had voluntarily given up the "riches," as they put it, without bearing any criminal liability. Some were reluctant. They were frightened of the former "owners." Later one of the custodians would say: "We were slaves." [passage omitted]

In my presence Alisher Khusainov, an investigator in the group, asked ordinary people in the village what was being said about the former party raykom secretary who, as everyone knew, had been arrested for bribe-taking.

"We have heard he is vacationing in Yalta," they replied. "They seem to have let him off. Is that true?"

"No, it is not true. He is 'vacationing' much further north," Alisher corrected them.

But you could sense that people still did not really believe that such an important person with so much money could be anything other than free! Alright, so an ordinary peasant could be put in jail, but surely the men at the top are exempt from the law?

In fact, many of the "exes" never really believed that neither their position, their title, nor their millions could save them. After all, these factors had saved their skins for so many years before. Even when the investigation had proven his guilt, S. Kudrov, former director of the Bukhara City Trade Organization for Trade in Industrial Goods, calmly said: "Let them put me in jail. I will give them 2 million and get out."

...The court sentenced him to execution. [passage omitted]

"There was an efficient bribery system in operation in the republic," R. Vafin, senior investigator in the USSR Prosecutor's Office Investigations Department, explained. "Our 'clients' included people who used to have good credentials. They had been in the war, studied, and worked honestly. But when they found themselves in leading posts they were put in the position where if they wanted to work they had to bribe their superiors. To have the money to bribe they had to accept bribes themselves."

Again they open the "Bribery Systems" file, where the investigator has recorded with meticulous detail: How, where, and for what purpose.

...Bribes received in offices and apartments. On aircraft and in hotels. In the street and at plenums.

...Bribes accepted for providing employment and for admission to academic institutions. For dropping criminal charges and instituting them against enemies. For patronage by the leadership and the exclusion of lands from the crop rotation plan. For providing apartments, dachas, cars, and trips abroad and conferring government awards and titles. For exemption from military service and the provision of centrally allocated resources.

...Bribes given for holidays and family celebrations. In connection with going on leave and coming back. In connection with the departure and arrival of any high-ranking person. For funerals and birthdays.

In ministries, departments, and institutions the bribery system was organized to suit the specific working conditions. Everyone gave bribes for.... Everyone was "in favor," because the republic dealt mercilessly with anyone who spoke out against it.

...Now many of the republic's former leaders are sitting in the Moscow jail popularly known as the "Sailor's Silence." You can almost hear the scratch of pen on paper in this silence. The "exes" are writing about who they accepted bribes from and who they gave bribes to, and are recalling what the investigators call episodes. It would be a good thing if what they are writing about were merely a sorry episode in the past. It could be recorded and forgotten. But these episodes cannot be forgotten because, as they sit in the "Sailor's Silence" reading republican newspapers about cadres changes, the "exes" are still asking investigators:

"Why has so-and-so not been arrested? I gave him bribes myself."

Sultan Aliyevich Salautdinov, prosecutor in the main USSR Prosecutor's Office Investigations Administration, can never forget how the notorious Adylov shouted while under interrogation:

"You can jail us for now! So what! In 15 years time we will get rid of you all and destroy your children. I will find the millions to do this!" [passage omitted]

More than 100 investigators from all over the country are involved in the case. They have seen enough of people who swear on their party membership card and the Koran that they do not have a kopek and then turn out to have millions. They have seen how one family clan has several houses and cars and expensive radio equipment, how one person has 100 suits while others are living on green tea and flat cakes and their children run about barefoot in the snow.

So have they seen anything good?

They have seen how people approach them, still cautiously, and how they say: Thank you. They have seen the letters sent to the investigations group, which begin

with the words: "Dear Comrades, Moscow security officers, thank you for restoring justice." They have seen how people wrongly condemned in the past are returning home and how the principle of "dual legality" is being smashed.

These young men have seen a lot of good things. They themselves are no longer the people they were when they started work in the group.

"The people of 1983 caliber and 1988 caliber are not the same at all," Gdlyan said with conviction.

"You know," Islam Borov, an investigator from Kirghizia, said, "I had to interrogate a former militia chief several times. I did not arrest him at first, I just issued him with a summons. Only later did I discover that he had been coming to the interrogation sessions with a pistol, he wanted to shoot me. 'So why didn't you shoot me?' I asked him. 'What's the point? If I had killed you, another would have taken your place,' he replied." [passage omitted]

Ligachev, Others Examine Museum Renovation
LD182358 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Comrades Ligachev, Vorotnikov, and Zaykov have examined the progress being made with the reconstruction of Moscow's cultural and art facilities—the buildings of the Tretyakov Gallery, the USSR Moscow Academy Arts Theater in Ulitsa Moskvina, the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, the Great Hall of the Conservatoire, and the Chaykovskiy Hall. These and other cultural centers in the capital are being renovated and extended in accordance with a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, adopted last year, on the integrated reconstruction and development of the historic center of Moscow in the period up to the year 2000. [passage omitted]

Bureaucracy 'Has Lost Touch With Reality'
PM181247 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 11, 13 Mar 88 p 12

[Interview with Prof Andrey Zdravomyslov by Dmitriy Kazutin: "A Guide to Inaction"]

[Text] This is the main thesis of Prof. Andrey Zdravomyslov, D. Sc. (Philosophy), who spoke recently with "MN" political analyst Dmitriy Kazutin.

D.K.: At the recent Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking about the main goals of perestroika, stressed: "We are striving in the present conditions to revive the Leninist spirit in the new system, to rid it of crustations and deformations, of everything that shackled society and prevented it from realizing the potential of socialism in full measure."

A new concept—the braking mechanism—was introduced into the political and scientific vocabulary at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee a year ago. Precisely this mechanism has shackled the development of society. It must be “dismantled” and replaced with an acceleration mechanism, which would release the inexhaustible “energy of progress” inherent in the socialist system. But for this we must naturally have a clear idea of what the braking mechanism is. The discussion on the social foundations of this mechanism, held recently at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee, was very useful in that sense. Yours was the main report at the discussion. What progress has been made by science in the study of this highly topical problem?

A.Z.: Two discussions on these problems were held at our institute last year. From a sociological viewpoint, I regard this problem as follows:

You are right that without understanding the essence of the braking mechanism we can't develop an acceleration mechanism. This is the starting point. What is the meaning of this concept and the essence of this phenomenon? The braking mechanism is the sum total of those internal historical circumstances which became more and more of a drag on our economic and social development. This mechanism cannot be identified with the system of the 1930s. It was strictly a product of the 1970s and the early 1980s and manifested itself in the management sphere, first and foremost. Therefore, the acceleration mechanism must also manifest itself primarily in the new administrative structures and new methods of management, and in the establishment of socialist self-government.

D.K.: Lenin felt that management would be a source of many problems in future. It's probably not by chance that he devoted all his last letters and articles to this subject?

A.Z.: Certainly. The key point in the braking mechanism is the bureaucratization of the administrative apparatus. Red tape leads to results which contradict the aims society has placed before the management bodies. The whole management system, without which no society and no collective can exist, begins to idle. This inevitably brings society to a crisis.

D.K.: Why and how does this absurd situation arise?

A.Z.: Everything begins with dividing up the functions within the administration, controlled by the independent interests of different bureaucrats. The smallest problems are routinely reviewed from a departmental or parochial standpoint and treated as matters of paramount importance. The people involved in this process gradually lose sight of how their work connects with the overall task. Management becomes an end in itself.

D.K.: The roots of corruption, too, probably, lie in the mercenary interests of bureaucrats. On the other hand, not every bureaucrat is an embezzler of public funds?

A.Z.: Corruption is a moral and political degradation of the administrative personnel. It marks a break with the system of socialist values. The struggle against corruption should not be confused with the struggle against red tape—though there are certainly links between bureaucratism and corruption. If society does not fight bureaucratism, corruption will inevitably arise. Corrupt bureaucrats are trying to take control of the administrative apparatus for the sake of the anti-social interests of a small group. The struggle for power and influence is being launched within the apparatus. This struggle may continue for a long time unbeknown to society.

Incidentally, Marx and Lenin gave much consideration to the study of bureaucracy and bureaucratism. But they always approached this question from a concrete historical angle, singling out various social types and forms of bureaucracy. The problem with Soviet bureaucracy, as distinct from tsarist officialdom and rational Western-type management systems, is that its thinking has become over-ideologized in the worst sense of the word—it has lost touch with reality.

D.K.: That's a fantastic thought, you may just recall Andrey Platonov, after all!

A.Z.: I agree but the following must be kept in mind. Bureaucratization is more dangerous than corruption. It takes place “within the system”, but does not contradict the law. Moreover, a real, “honest” bureaucrat regards the interests of his own administrative sphere as state interests.

D.K.: I don't think anyone would deny the tenacity of red tape in our society. But to date no one has been able to explain why we keep producing it.

A.Z.: There are several reasons. One of the principal causes is the insufficient development of the working people's political knowledge. And a historic lack of legal abilities and experience for a democratic way of life.

But apart from historical factors, the main source is our dogmatic way of thinking, our dogmatic interpretation of socialism, based on oversimplified and primitive schemes, departures from the Leninist understanding of the essence of socialism.

Dogmatism is a special position in life, opposed by a realistic approach to actual conditions. It is a style of thinking that corresponds with the bureaucratic vision of the world: man, it alleges, is not an independent and supreme value, but just a cog in the state machinery.

The symbiosis of bureaucratic management methods and the democratic perception of reality reveals the peculiarity of the braking mechanism under socialism. It

is very difficult to determine what is the leading force in this symbiosis. I believe that in socialist politics and ideology play a special role which cannot be compared with their role in previous social structures.

D.K.: In your report you spoke about the genealogy of the braking mechanism, about links between the stagnation phenomena of the 1970s and Stalin's personality cult.

A.Z.: The point at issue is that Stalin's personal power which became established late in the 1930s, is sometimes regarded as having been necessary for the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development in those years. People even admit that the means were vicious but then go on to say that the noble end justified them. Such a viewpoint is simply immoral.

Some people maintain that there was no choice. Everything had allegedly been "programmed" from the very beginning: the external conditions were highly unfavourable for the implementation of the Leninist conception of socialism.

The study of this problem is just beginning. But even a priori I regard as absurd the idea that the development and strengthening of socialism should have been accompanied without fail by reprisals, mass terror, the elimination of the best party cadres. On the contrary, all this has reduced the people's creative potential and hence weakened the state's might and the country's defence capacity. Departure from the Leninist conception of socialism has cost our people a pretty penny.

As for Stalin, I think that he will remain a controversial figure in our society for a long time. Both "sides" of the dispute will have to get accustomed to this. The experiences of people during the years of the personality cult were varied and sometimes opposite. Only new generations will be able to approach this problem more calmly. Time is needed for this.

D.K.: What do you think about the "usurping" of the workers' power by the bureaucracy as a social basis for Stalin's personality cult? This idea was expressed by Prof. Anatoliy Butenko in "MN".

A.Z.: Prof. Butenko spoke at our discussion. His idea is interesting, but I have some doubts about it. The administrative apparatus created by Stalin can hardly be likened to bureaucracy in the traditional sense of the word. In an atmosphere of general suspicion none of the leading functionaries could feel safe. Besides, one cannot fail to see the positive work of the management system in those years. People's commissariats, chief administrations and other administrative structures have done a great deal to carry out five-year plans. But the position of every person in the administrative apparatus depended on the arbitrary rule and whims of the leader. A casual disagreement could end with a denunciation or an accusation of being involved with "enemies of the people".

Given the unstable position of every person in the management system, one can hardly say that this section possessed the social strength to determine policy.

D.K.: Thus, fear acted antibureaucratically in a sense? If so, freeing itself of fear, bureaucracy acquires power.

A.Z.: Fear cannot act antibureaucratically, but fear and idolization of the leader are essential for maintaining personal power and bureaucratic dependence. Butenko is absolutely right in saying that neither the reprisals launched in the 1930s, nor the repressive machinery created by Stalin, a machinery which he put above the Party, expressed the working class interests. This is the most profound distortion of socialism.

D.K.: This distortion, I believe, is connected with "bar-racks" socialism, with the striving to make everyone "equal", and using the machinery of coercion as well?

A.Z.: Certainly. But this gives rise to many difficulties in our life today. For the first time in many years we really feel the socialist pluralism of viewpoints, which reflects the growing diversity of complicated public, group and personal interests. Hence the certain confusion, about which Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in his speech at the February Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee: "...Are we not retreating from the positions of socialism, especially when we introduce new, unaccustomed forms of economic management and social life, are we not revising the Marxist-Leninist teaching itself? No wonder that there have emerged 'defenders' of Marxism-Leninism and mourners for socialism who believe that both are under threat."

In reality the point is to overcome the distortions of socialism, to establish it as a society of people with initiative, and to fully restore the Leninist conception of socialism.

Toxic Leak at Rail Crash Site Reported

*LD211743 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 21 Mar 88*

[Text] At 0700 this morning, a goods train was passing through Lebyazhe station on the Dnepr railroad. When there were still five wagons to go through the exit points, the points came apart. Two tank wagons skidded about three hundred meters along the sleepers; the others overturned. A crack appeared in the filler cap of the third tank wagon, from which an acrid-smelling liquid gushed. The scene of the accident was cordoned off. Dump trucks started bringing in sand from quarries and the local authorities started an evacuation of residents of the Rossiya Kolkhoz. The kolkhoz's sheep flocks were also evacuated.

Two hours after the event, they still did not know about the accident in Kharkov. The Dnepr railroad had not considered it necessary to inform their neighbors, or ask

them to join in clearing up the aftermath of the accident as a matter of urgency. It was only at 0920 that chemicals experts and managers of the southern railroad set off for the area.

The freight was traveling from Kuybyshev to the Dneprodzerzhinsk coke and chemical plant. It had not been possible to determine what it was even 3 hours after the train crashed. According to reports, work was stopped at 1300. The Dneprodzerzhinsk coke and chemical plant provided information that the leaking oil refining product had narcotic properties and was explosive. Gas welding work must not be conducted in its vicinity. The plant sent out its specialists and the cordon was moved back to 1 km. There is a cloud of highly concentrated vapor over the accident site, causing irritation of the mucous membranes. Some of the people who were in the accident zone, even wearing gas masks, fell asleep standing up. The emergency evacuation of the population proved justified.

The Ministry of Railways has already several times been confronted with the need to indicate in travel documentation the degree of danger of specific liquid freight and the ways of neutralizing them in emergencies. The latest accident demonstrates that the necessary conclusions have not been drawn.

Sulphuric Acid Transport Truck Spills

LD211939 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] We have just received a report from Ulyanovsk. An emergency situation developed in this town on the Volga today because of a lack of care by workers from Ulyanovsk's "Kontaktor" plant. They ignored elementary precautions for transporting sulphuric acid from base to enterprise and violated safety technology rules, failing to securely couple the vehicle and the acid-filled tank. As a result, driving out onto Ulyanovsk's main traffic route, the driver lost a tank. Six tonnes of highly concentrated chemical compound, which endangers life, spilled out.

The first alarm signals were received by staff at the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate. Precise action by the mobile detachments of the internal affairs directorate, doctors from the sanitary services, and other subdivisions managed to make the menacing stream harmless. By dint of much effort, the main goal was achieved. In the experts' assessment, not one drop of sulphuric acid entered the water-bearing soil stratum or the drainage system. There were no human fatalities or casualties. The administrative bodies are looking into the causes of the accident.

Lukonin Discusses Nuclear Power Safety

PM181237 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 11, 13 Mar 88 p 10

[Interview with Soviet Minister of Nuclear Power Nikolay Lukonin by APN correspondent Yuriy Kanin: "On the Defensive and on the Attack"; date and place not given]

[Text] N.L.: To break with tradition, let me make a brief introduction. Since the accident at the U.S. power station, Three Mile Island, and especially the Chernobyl disaster in this country on April 26, 1986, as well as a long list of minor accidents at nuclear plants in various countries, it has become unrewarding and even risky for nuclear experts to discuss their trade in the press. "Here's another advocate of the untamable atoms out to prove the unprovable," people jump in. "That's his trade and he gets paid so long as nuclear plants exist."

Yu.K.: For this reason many in your line of work today prefer to keep silent.

N.L.: Right. Recall the biased coverage nuclear power engineering received in the world press following the Chernobyl accident. There were clear political allusions to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Some reporters alleged that radioactive clouds were sweeping the world, spreading panic. Western embargoes on imports of agricultural produce from socialist countries were an obvious and inexplicable attempt to harm socialist economies. Some farmers in the West suffered, too, even those who were paid compensation as part of the political speculation. The mythical numbers of projected deaths from cancer made many people picture themselves and their relatives as future patients in cancer wards.

Yu.K.: Too often in the past nuclear power engineering has been portrayed as almost completely safe. The illusion has now been replaced by a serious mistrust of this source of energy.

N.L.: I would call it excessive mistrust, or perhaps a lack of faith in the ability of modern science and engineering to solve safety-related problems at nuclear power plants. I think that nuclear experts, researchers and practical scientists should use the press to inform the public about measures being taken, the real state of things in this area and its importance for the further progress of civilization.

We experts in the field are not turning a deaf ear on our opponents. We, too, have children and grandchildren. We are not their enemies, nor are we the enemies of humankind.

Yu.K.: Incidentally, what do your children do? What do they think of the nuclear power industry?

N.L.: I have two sons. Both have followed in my footsteps. The elder is a foreman at the Leningrad AES. The younger one is specializing at the Polytechnic Institute in the operation of nuclear power plants. They both believe, as I do, that there'll be no repeat of Chernobyl ever, that nuclear power engineering can and will be safe, that humankind currently has no other alternative. It is wrong to think that we defend nuclear power plants because we operate them. I've been in power engineering since 1952. I've worked my way up from being an engineer at nuclear reactors to being the director of the

Leningradskaya and then of the Ignalinskaya AES. I've accumulated knowledge and experience. Which has everything to do with my views on this problem of such great concern to many of us, and primarily us experts.

Yu.K.: The main problem with reactors of the Chernobyl type, experts think, is what they call the steam ratio of reactivity.

N.L.: The ratio has now been sharply reduced because each RBMK-1000 reactor at present has 81 neutron absorbers; the RBMK-1500 reactor in operation at the Ignalinskaya has 52 absorbers. The absorbers are rods of boron steel. Now if for some reason there is a sharp loss of water, there won't be any burst of power as at Chernobyl.

Besides, the emergency protection has been improved: safety rods in all Soviet reactors in use can now reach their active zones one and half times faster than before. The length of absorption of the rods has been increased and other structural improvements have been made.

Safety systems are being improved constantly. We now have the first models of an even faster emergency protection system. Testing is under way at the Ignalinskaya AES of systems whose rods can reach the active section in as little as 2.1 seconds. Under the programme for 1988-1989, this system will be installed in all reactors of the RBMK type. We are also working to equip all types of reactors with special systems to check the equipment. These systems are being installed first at the Chernobyl and Armenian nuclear plants, among others. The system can detect even incipient faults inside metals, say in the pipe of the primary loop, so that repairs can be done in time.

As a result of these additional safety measures, reactors of the RBMK type, i.e., the type installed in Chernobyl, are not worse than any other types including the water-cooled reactors widely used throughout the world. As for the stability of their operation, they were no worse than any other and have even been improved in this respect. In 1986 each RBMK generating unit was shut down 2.6 times on average. In 1987 the figure was 1.3. As far as I know, the U.S. and France are aiming to reduce shut-downs to an average 1.5 per unit by 1990. Yu.K.: What do you think about the present radiation safety around the station and inside its control rooms? What are the working conditions like? In Britain, for example they hold the popular Monopoly championships inside the technical maintenance room at the Albury nuclear plant (built in 1967) as a way of winning back the public's trust in the safety of the nuclear power industry. Last year the premises were used by 200 doctors for a conference. Are you ready to stage something of the kind at the Chernobyl AES?

N.L.: A nuclear plant is of course not meant for entertainment or scientific symposia. Nevertheless, there was a pop show broadcast on TV last year from Chernobyl

Pripyat, three kilometres away from the plant, is home for shift and other personnel (on the approval of the Ministry of Public Health of the USSR). At the plant we've got no rooms large enough to hold 200 people but at different times we have received many more from many countries: scientists, engineers, state, political and religious leaders, journalists, authors and medics. I remember Hans Blix, director-general of the IAEA, standing right up against the wall of the crippled reactor as he checked the radiation level. In 1987 the level of radiation inside the Chernobyl plant control rooms was one-third of the norm.

Yu.K.: Some countries have renounced the nuclear power industry....

N.L.: They include those which have no nuclear plants or are just making the first steps in the nuclear power industry.

Yu.K.: True. But some have stopped the construction of nuclear plants, whereas Sweden is planning to close down the plants it has by the year 2010.

N.L.: Provided there is an alternative. If this statement is a way to reassure the public, we understand. Incidentally, both Sweden and the USSR are vigorously working to improve the safety of reactors in operation as well as those still on the drawing board. At the same time Japan, whose experts can hardly be mistaken in their predictions, has increased the share of electricity produced by nuclear plants to 31.7 percent (in the USSR nuclear plants produce 11.2 percent of all electricity). The JAPAN TIMES recently reported government plans to increase the share of nuclear energy in the country's overall energy balance to 40 percent by the year 2000.

Yu.K.: What are the main arguments for the continued use of nuclear power at this stage? Wouldn't it be better to invest more in alternative energy sources like solar energy, the heat of the earth's interior, wind and tidal waves?

N.L.: No nuclear industry expert would say no to those sources. But they simply can't compete for the amounts of energy produced, while the use of solar energy - the biggest potential source - is not efficient economically. These sources surely must be used on a wider scale. They are a fine addition to the overall production of electricity and heat but can only be used locally.

No one, I think, would argue that the world's living standards and economic development largely depend on the availability of energy. According to rough estimates, the demand for energy in the first quarter of the 21st century will double. If we exclude the nuclear power industry before we have found a viable alternative, how can we manage? Using organic fuels? Let's not think of the remaining deposits. Besides, we need oil and gas badly for other purposes.

But let us still imagine that we have closed down nuclear plants which now generate 17 percent of all electricity in the world. Now we are obliged to burn more coal, gas and oil. What does this mean for global ecology? Wouldn't it mean the final blow to an atmosphere already devastated by acid rains?

The second critical issue is the disruption of the established structure of generation and consumption of energy. France's nuclear plants generate 70 percent of its electricity. What shall it do? What about a number of other countries, especially developing countries, which have no other energy resources? There would obviously be another and more intensive energy crisis followed by another peak in political tensions and instability.

I still vote for the nuclear power industry on whose safety numerous teams of experts in the Soviet Union and many other countries are working hard.

Visa Officials on Emigration, New Guidelines

Israel Cases 'Exceptional'

PM181154 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian
No 12, 19-25 Mar (Signed to Press 17 Mar 88) p 7

[Unattributed report: "No 38, Petrovka"]

[Excerpts] A briefing was held for journalists at Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration of Internal Affairs. S. Alpatov, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration of Internal Affairs Visas and Registration Administration, described the office's recent work. [passage omitted]

When the report had been prepared for publication, R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR MVD Visas and Registration Department, proposed certain clarifications, the need for which arose in connection with the publication of reports on the briefing in other publications.

Restrictions have been lifted on reciprocal visits to meet with former Soviet citizens who had earlier left for Israel, if they are permanently resident in a third country with which the USSR has diplomatic relations and are citizens of that state.

Trips to Israel are at present permitted in exceptional cases. This is because in accordance with Article 6 of the USSR Law "On USSR Citizenship" the Soviet Union cannot fully ensure the safety and protection of our citizens in that country, since it does not have diplomatic relations with Israel. [passage omitted]

Opportunities Increase

PM220829 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 6

[Ye. Nastin report under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "When Invited Abroad"]

[Text] A briefing for journalists took place at 38 Petrovka 16 March. S. Alpatov, chief of the Visa and Registrations Administration of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration, talked about exit from and entry to the USSR:

Recently, people's interest in our service has particularly increased. Ever-increasing ties with foreign countries, naturally, has increased the load on visa and registrations departments. Questions of exit and entry on private business to European CEMA countries are covered by rayon departments.

Our activity is determined by a USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 28 August 1986 which came into effect 1 January 1987. This resolution regulates the rules for trips by Soviet citizens abroad and by foreigners to the USSR. In particular, opportunities for trips to the socialist countries have significantly increased. Now, to invite a relative who is a permanent resident in a socialist country, it is sufficient to come to us and make an application. We issue an invitation the same day. Limitations on reciprocal visits to meet persons who have left the USSR for Israel, and also for temporary trips to Israel and back, have been removed.

All this is connected, above all, with simplifying documentation procedure. The form of the questionnaires has changed. There are significantly fewer questions in them. Even their size is half of what it was. Now there is no need to ask the administration at places of employment or study to arrange trips abroad by invitation or for permanent residence. Personal references which were required earlier have been abolished.

All these simplifications have increased even more the number of citizens' inquiries to the Visas and Registration Department. For the last 2 months this year the overall number of applications has increased by 47 percent, and by 93 percent for capitalist and developing countries. It should be noted that the number of people refused permission to travel has significantly decreased. In 1987 refusals for trips to capitalist and developing countries fell by 44 percent compared with 1986.

In the great majority of cases the reason for refusal is knowledge of a state secret or something else which affects state security. These refusals, as a rule, are temporary, and the application can be renewed in 6 months. I would like to stress that in such cases it is not visa and registration departments which decide whether a citizen's trip abroad is possible, but the enterprise where he works or used to work. Recently 203 citizens were refused for the reasons already mentioned.

Now we are drawing up documents for those leaving at the invitation of relatives and friends. This affects trips to both socialist and capitalist countries.

We no longer write in passports how many days a person will be out of the country, but we indicate: "Exit on such and such a date." The passport is effective for a period of 6 months. During this time the citizen can make two or three return trips. But he can change money only for 90 days. For example, he can take R1,350 to socialist countries, or enough money to capitalist countries to last for 2 months calculated at the rate of R7 per day.

There are now no limits to the frequency of trips to either capitalist or socialist countries. You can travel as long as you have an invitation.

Visa and registration departments must draw up documents for private trips within a month. We are trying to keep within this period, but we do not always succeed. This is for the capitalist countries. Whereas preparing passports for the socialist countries takes about 15 days.

Attitudes, Treatment of Afghan Veterans Cited

PM161251 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Mar 88 pp 3-4

[Yuriy Kurbatov article under the "Journalist's Notes" rubric: "The Combatant Children of Non-Combatant Fathers"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—I read and reread the lines of the statement on Afghanistan by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. What feelings and what hopes does it give rise to? I think that, on reading this document, many people will be moved by a fine hope, yet some will feel pain and nostalgia for those who will never return.

Everyone will think about what concerns them and we will all think together about how a real prospect has finally opened up for putting an end to this harsh conflict, which has reflected the dramatic complexity of our contradictory time.

I do not think that everyone has fully realized what Afghanistan has become for us. It has found its way if not into every family then at any rate into every city, settlement, and village. Our people, who themselves suffered very serious losses during the years of the war, could not help but respond to their neighbor's grief and suffering. Such is the nature of our people. We have not forgotten Halhin Gol or Spain. They were unforgettable, difficult lessons in internationalism.

We did not go to Afghanistan to fight. We wanted peace for the people who had gained their freedom and independence through suffering. It is not our fault that 8 years ago the first drops of blood fell on the hot Afghan soil. It is difficult to talk about this now. It is painful and hard to stand before the black stone on the grave of a

20-year old soldier who died in Afghanistan. Name and surname. Dates of birth and death. Nothing else. Someone once said: "You must not excite public opinion."

Why not, when even in our country some people are trying to cast doubt on the necessity of what we did for the fraternal people and for our country's security. This is said, as a rule, by those who have never been in Afghanistan and have not seen children dying of starvation, activists from the people's authorities hacked to pieces, and terrible poverty. Not only must this be seen it must also be considered in depth and related to the overall situation in the world.

Without doubt not all the assessments have already been made. Whether we like it or not, the echoes of our internal troubles in the quite recent past have had an impact on the undecidedness and vagueness of the opinions on the internal situation in that country.

I can say that for many years it was with emotion that we used to read in newspapers and see on the television rose-tinted banal scenes showing the planting of tree-lined avenues of friendship in Afghan villages, popular festivals, and up-beat victories over the dushmans. Behind all this we forgot that a very real war was going on there. Now a firm statement has been made to the effect that our boys have fulfilled and are honestly fulfilling their duty. The memory of those who died there is sacred for us. I believe that truthful books will be written about this some time and that five-pointed red stars will be put up over the graves.

We value at their true worth the feats of arms of those who fought on Afghan soil. This is necessary for us ourselves today. It is even more important for those who will enter the army ranks tomorrow. Yes, we are talking about peace and we are waging a truly heroic struggle to curtail the arms race. But is there any guarantee that history will not repeat itself? I think that no one would be so bold as to answer this question in the affirmative. [passage omitted] I recently read with some inner emotion and spiritual turmoil the typewritten ballad "Requiem" by army doctor Gennadiy Kostyuk. By virtue of their right of remembrance army poets call to account those who have until now, in the name of misconceived "political considerations," hushed up the heroic and tragic fates of the internationalist soldiers.

On Afghan soil

In the last few years

Russia has strewn

Many of her sons along the rocks.

Why did their obelisks

Never bear

Words about how the boys

Died for our friends?

[Passage omitted] They looked death in the face and they fulfilled their international duty. They returned to the motherland with new standards. They lived there in an atmosphere of high revolutionary purity. For those who had faced death, it seemed that not even the tiniest corner remained on earth for thieves, narrow-minded people, and money grubbers, capable of flouting what we consider the sacred concepts of honor, duty, and conscience. We may call them idealists but we must understand them.

We must understand them because they carried a sacred sense of patriotism and a profound realization of their liberating international mission through deprivations and death. Not a word of regret or complaint about the difficult living conditions in which they found themselves there and of which we only have an extremely rough idea did I hear from any one of them. On the contrary, even today, alone or in whole groups, they are haunting the doorsteps of military commissars and asking, nay, demanding that they be sent to Afghanistan again.

Somehow in our daily lives we have without noticing grown used to indecision, compromises, paper achievements, and loud declarations from rostrums. They do not acknowledge indecision and rightly think that he who does not do everything that he can for the motherland is not doing anything.

That is their definite advantage. But that is also their tragedy. With their exactingness and their black-and-white view of life they can appear to be maximalists. Many people do not understand their somehow even fierce desire for social justice.

I now recall my meetings and conversations with Officer Vladimir Kolinichenko, who also served in Afghanistan.

"We returned from there with clear minds," he voiced his thoughts. "We encountered a blind wall of incomprehension here. In our unit, for example, we have a splendid museum for glory in combat. Yet for a long time we were not allowed to put up a stand there dedicated to our comrades alive and dead. Now, admittedly, this question has been resolved. We are dreaming of putting up a plaque to commemorate those who did not return from Afghanistan."

Why are we taking so long and having such difficulty in realizing the real situation? For the soldier sons of nonfighting men are among us. Why are we timid and cautious now about entrusting them with work in schools and patriotic clubs and with the leadership of teams and Komsomol committees?

What is the reason for this? Thoughtlessness or deliberate rejection of their political, social, and combat experience? For they themselves are eager to work and are filled with a wish and desire to share their experiences and sufferings with others and with an uncompromising attitude toward our social ailments. "Restructuring is a vital matter for us," one of the "Afghans" said to me, "not in the figurative but in the literal sense..."

On leaving for home they surrendered their weapons but did not lay down their arms. We must understand and assimilate this difference. One thing is clear: We are now acquiring in the person of the "Afghans" an active reserve of fighters for restructuring full of energy. One of them is Nikolay Fotiyev, secretary of the Zheleznodorozhny Komsomol Raykom, a former paratrooper awarded the Order of the Red Star and a "for Bravery" medal who used to be an assistant machine operator at the Khorvino depot. He has gathered similar "Afghans," people from very different professions and posts, around him. They have decided to go to schools and vocational and technical colleges and tackle young people's military-patriotic education. He wrote to the USSR Defense Ministry Central Stores Directorate and asked for a uniform for a military sport camp for difficult adolescents. He showed me the answer on a letterhead: "I must inform you that items of military uniform and supplies are not issued to civilian organizations, including internationalist servicemen's clubs. Signed: Major General M. Khrenov, directorate chief."

He turned to the renowned Kantemir Division for help in organizing the camp and in holding the "Orlenok" Games and was greeted with a stern rebuke: "We are a combat unit and not an aid society."

"Apparently, some people consider us socially dangerous people," he let fall once bitterly in the conversation.

I was at the organizational meeting of Zheleznodorozhny Rayon's "Motherland" Club of internationalist soldiers last summer. Nikolay Fotiyev organized it. We talked about different things, joked, and pondered how to celebrate Airborne Troops Day, which was being held for the first time in the city, how to organize a collection for a memorial to the internationalist servicemen, and how to repair the premises—almost 700 square meters—which they had been allotted with the active help of Irina Nikolayevna Konyukhova, party raykom first secretary. She sensed immediately what these young boys lacked. But, unfortunately not everyone is capable of such simple human understanding.

The representative of what I consider a respected Komsomol publication was also at the meeting. She listened and recorded on tape everything that they were talking about. Then carelessly lounging on her chair and crossing her legs in fine, fashionable shoes, she screamed in their faces. This is what she screamed:

"What are you striving for, what do you want? In 3 years time, everyone will have forgotten about you. Go to an orthopedic institute, that's where the real 'Afghans' are. Whereas you..."

She almost considered it a feat for her to sympathize with a wounded man. They, who had themselves been wounded on more than one occasion and had buried many of their comrades, stood in stunned silence. They never lost their self-possession when ambushed or when defending themselves while completely surrounded. But they gave up here in the face of the shameless boorishness of an attractive girl who believed that she knew everything about Afghanistan.

Indeed, they encountered the same attitude toward them, or approximately the same attitude, on several occasions. I was told at Moscow's Cheremushkinskiy Rayon Military Commissariat of the difficulty that they had had in obtaining with the help of the Komsomol raykom a place in a sanatorium for Aleksandr Beglov, who had sustained a very serious head injury. In the capital's Sevastopolskiy Rayon I witnessed a conversation between the military commissar and the father of a soldier who had died in Afghanistan. The father wanted to put up a memorial to his son as soon as possible. But the funeral service people hinted to him that he had to "slip" them R100 and then everything would be okay. Tell me, do these people hold anything sacred? Can we call them people in the broad sense which we attach to the word today? The boys see all this and they know. How can there be any kindly feelings and how can the bitterness which has arisen in uninformed young hearts be erased?

The state has taken care of those it sent to Afghanistan. They have been given great privileges. But just try and make use of them. As a rule, enterprise leaders know nothing about these privileges. According to the regulations, the "Afghans" can, for instance, take their vacation when they want to.

"I mentioned this once," Mikhail Brutskiy said, "and received the response: Are you better than the others or what? You can't argue your rights each time..."

The mother of S. Chigayev, a paratrooper who died in Afghanistan, has frequently asked the unit where her son served to say how he died and send her his belongings. Three years of unbroken silence have elapsed. People at the military commissariat brushed her aside: They have plenty to do as it is, they say.

Dozens of "Afghans" have quoted me similar examples. And I have been thinking about how such things can happen in our country. For our people have always been endowed with compassion for other people's grief and with the desire to help anyone who has fallen on hard times. Especially when this concerns those who have suffered on the field of battle. It may be even more difficult for our sons, who had to fight against the

counterrevolution in Afghanistan, than for their grandfathers and fathers. A different time and a different war, without a rear line and without a front line. Here people are more often shot in the back than in the chest. Therefore there is not and cannot be any justification for indifference to their fate.

It is hard to believe, but all the same it must be admitted: The serious ailment which has afflicted our memory and our conscience has been diagnosed as indifference, which has recently become natural as it were. We sometimes regard people who burn with suffering for others as not quite normal. Indifference—perhaps one of the most terrible social evils—is not being firmly repulsed in our country. In recent years a great deal has been done for the "Afghans" living facilities. But, obviously, spiritual wellbeing is equally and sometimes even more important. It is difficult to move from a combat trench to peaceful life. Some do not completely manage this. We are already incurring great losses here in the motherland. It is not bullets that are striking but vodka, drugs, and despair. Some people cannot stand spiritual solitude, active and covert nonacceptance, and the ordeal of daily living.

They meet together to gain confidence in their rightness and feel the atmosphere of combat fraternity, where it is as natural to give one's life for a friend as to protect a child from harm.

There they lived at the supreme limit of moral and physical effort and often did the impossible. Now they cannot live any differently and they are nauseated by humdrum existence. They do not see themselves as exclusive and bravado and speculating on what they have experienced is alien to them. Although, admittedly, one can still encounter cases of this.

I frequently heard this kind of argument or similar ones from both privates and officers. Even now they dream of the "green zone," the zone where you can meet the enemy face to face at any second.

Many of these problems were sharply voiced at the first All-Union Assembly of Reservist Soldiers held late last year in Ashkhabad. Discussions there were complex and many bitter, just reproaches were heard by party and Komsomol workers. It is gratifying that the conversation was open and honest, albeit sharp. It is reassuring that such meetings have already taken place in many cities and republics and that the clubs for internationalist servicemen are gathering pace and that the insults and incomprehension of the past have not rid the young veterans of the main thing—the desire to construct something new and responsibility for the fate of restructuring. They are waiting for real actions and not playing at them.

The CPSU Central Committee recently examined the results of the All-Union Assembly of Young Reservists. By and large it was given a positive assessment. Ministries and departments have been tasked with examining the meeting participants' proposals and doing everything to practically resolve them. Attention has been drawn to the inadmissibility of a formal, callous attitude to former internationalist servicemen who were wounded and maimed and to the families and memory of the dead. In short, everything is, apparently, being set to rights.

Then what is the source of this alarm deposited as it were in people's hearts? As though something has been left unsaid, unwritten, and unheard. But perhaps this really is the case? Can the tuning fork of our conscience still be deaf to the innermost promptings of humanity? After all it only reflects sound and does not purify it or make it truer or more honest.

...I was standing once on the platform at the Belorussian Station when an electric locomotive approached the platform. The side of the first carriage bore the inscription in huge yellow letters: "In Honor of Internationalist Servicemen." Perhaps, I thought, it is true that something has stirred in our consciousness.

Economic

New Cooperatives Termed 'Market Medics'

PM171001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88
Second Edition p 3

[Article by I. Teterin under the rubric: "Social Sphere: Cooperative Matters": "'Iris' in Light of the Market"]

[Text] Tallinn—When Koyt Karistu, director of the Estonian Republic "Avtovaztekhobsluzhivaniye" Center, wrote his resignation, this fact in itself did not surprise many people. Over the last 10 years the leadership at the automobile service enterprise had changed four times. None of the directors had managed to pull the enterprise through: The rigid framework of economic activity and chronic shortage of spare parts and components had resulted in low-quality customer service and debts of millions of rubles....

Something else was surprising: K. Karistu did not start seeking places and posts equivalent to the one that he had quit voluntarily, but decided to start from scratch in a totally new business, the prospects and potential of which he himself was not even aware.

He headed one of the first cooperatives in the republic's Ministry of Consumer Services system—a cooperative registered under the name "Iris." In just 6 months "Iris" has achieved almost the same work volume as the.... "Avtovaztekhobsluzhivaniye" Center. What is this—a coincidence or a correct result?

"Think of us as market medics," Chairman Karistu jokes. "'Iris' is only involved in those spheres of activity where large-scale economic activity was unable to meet the population's demand for goods and services. Our 'medicine' is simple—flexibility and efficiency."

Market conditions are, in fact, the main guideline for cooperative workers. Today "Iris" sews fashionable items of outerwear, manufactures automobile spare parts, repairs apartments, constructs dachas, provides services for amateur motorists, and makes advertising stickers to order.... For instance, any amateur motorist knows how much irritation and how much effort it takes to obtain such spares for a "Zhiguli" as a handbrake cable, an exhaust muffler, or brake shoes. But "Iris" has organized their production and is doing a brisk trade at its direct-sale point next to the automobile service center. The prices are, of course, higher than state prices, but people accept this because it is still more expensive on the "black" market.

"So you are competing with the large-scale economy?" I asked Karistu.

"What do you think!" the chairman exclaimed. "We will never compete with it. We haven't got the means. But we are indeed competing with the 'shady' economy, to say the least."

At first glance the "Iris" cooperative workers' efficiency seems striking. A ruble invested in production starts making a profit after it has been in circulation for 3 months. But there is a logical explanation for this great achievement. The cooperative's fixed production capital is wretchedly small—by the end of 1987 it totaled only R37,000. Yet for the first, albeit incomplete year, R1 million worth of goods and services have been produced!

The explanation is quite simple. This is a cooperative system not of production means but of human labor. Intensive, painstaking, highly skilled labor, moreover. The cooperative's equipment and machinery are very basic. In the sewn goods section, for example, I saw an old "Singer" which had been brought from the home of pensioner Linda Kruus, as well as antiquated sewing machines bought at the "Marat" in exchange for other equipment. In the metal section my eyes fell on a 100-tonne press: It transpired that it had been taken on lease from a Tallinn enterprise which did not need it any more because it was undergoing modernization.

In short, the cooperative members' main outlays are on raw materials and semimanufactures. The goods which "Iris" manufactures, however, are in small batches of 100-200 items. But these goods, I will stress again, are definitely in short supply. They are swallowed up as soon as they hit the market.

"We believe," K. Karistu said, "that the greater the variety of services offered by the cooperative, the more secure our economic situation will be, to say nothing of our reputation."

About this reputation, incidentally. "Iris" values it no less than its stable economic situation. So it strives to maintain this reputation in every way possible. One day an old lady telephoned the cooperative office: "Can you help me out, dears? I have become very weak—please could you send someone around to read the newspaper to me in the evenings." They were surprised by this unusual request but had no intention of brushing it aside. They found a student and payed him a nominal wage. Now the old lady praises the sympathetic people from "Iris" to the skies.

There have been examples of a different kind, however. Some of the newcomers to the cooperative when it was still in its infancy began work by... deceiving clients: They charged a higher fee for their work than that stipulated by the board decision, and pocketed the difference. They were decisively dropped from the cooperative without further ado. So it became the rule for the future that only those who survive the probationary period can become members of the cooperative. "Iris" now has 280 members. But there is already a long list of people wishing to join.

"Iris" has its own "think tank"—the cooperative board. This consists of six people. Koyt Karistu is the chairman. Vladimir Dorving, a man with considerable experience in economic work, is the chief engineer. The finances and credit are handled by Chief Accountant Birke Stranberg. She is now retired but, having worked for many years as chief accountant at a large industrial enterprise, she can easily cope with the finances of "Iris." Then there is the production organizer, the supplier, and the lawyer, who doubles as cadre specialist.

Incidentally, the chairman of the cooperative and his assistants are on fixed salaries: the chairman makes R280, the chief engineer R250, and the rest R230 each. This is not so much—on average people in "Iris" make R310 a month. But bonuses have been stipulated for the managers depending on how much income "Iris" earns.

"We save the people joining the cooperative a lot of hassle," Koyt Karistu said. "They don't have to worry about raw materials, orders, sales, taxes, or filling in documents themselves. It's the fear of just this kind of hassle that's currently hampering the spread of the collective system."

But the board's activities are not restricted only to this. It also has more important tasks—determining the strategy for the cooperative's economic activity. Incidentally, all responsible decisions there are invariably put to the cooperative members for discussion.

"It's the only way to go about it," the chairman believes. "After all, we are operating under full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. But economic accountability without democracy is an anachronism."

Yet the cooperative members continually face problems that are by no means caused by market conditions. The help and support of the local authorities means a lot in such situations. For instance, the cooperative members recently decided to acquire their own transportation. They looked at two older vehicles at a second-hand store. But the store was having none of it: You are not a private individual. Bring permission and we'll sell you one, they said. The cooperative members had to drum up high-level support. The republic council of ministers instructed the Ministry of Trade, which in turn instructed the second-hand store, and only then did the sale go through.

Taxes are also a complete muddle. Documents specify preferential taxation in the first years of any cooperative's existence. But what actually happens?

"Somehow," Chief Accountant Virke Stranberg shrugged, "this benefit seems to have passed us by. Apart from the general tax on the cooperative we also pay income tax and social security contributions. But why? Cooperatives should surely be subject to the same taxation system as kolkhoz members."

Why, indeed? Egon Truve, the republic's deputy minister of consumer services, frankly explained:

"Very many authorities are still jealous of the successes of cooperative members. They often try to accuse them of everything under the sun. But recently the Estonian Ministry of Finance Control and Auditing Administration did an in-depth audit of the state of affairs at 'Iris.' What came of it? Not a single comment. Can many enterprises boast that their affairs are in such ideal order?!"

The draft Law on the Cooperative System published for discussion the other day opens up very extensive opportunities for "Iris" and for all cooperatives.

But the first steps have already changed a great many things in everyday life. In Tallinn, for instance, the problem of repairing apartments has now disappeared—cooperative members have helped out. The same "Iris" sends out repair workers just 3 days after being asked to help.

"The market today," Koyt Karistu confirms, "can provide work for thousands more cooperative members. Incidentally, a time will come when supply will equal demand and then outstrip it. When that day dawns it will be harder for us to make a living."

"Iris" is already preparing for that day. It recently opened a direct-sales store. The coffee shop is being decorated with fashionable fabrics. The enthusiasts do not stint on their advertising: The cooperative's logo can be found in newspaper advertisements, in store windows, even in crowds of people—in the shape of badges on fashionable winter jackets which have proved popular with many people. Although, if we take the overall picture, the articles produced by "Iris" most often need no advertising. The cooperative members have already concluded contracts to deliver output to stores in a number of Estonian cities. Nor is there any shortage of customers from other parts of the country: Trading enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, Kalinin, Tolyatti, and Kuybyshev are hoping to obtain the Estonian products... For the cooperative members there is no yardstick more authoritative than that of the market. After all, the market is all of us.

Agricultural

Shcherbitskiy Appraises Seminar, Production *AU161543 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian* 5 Mar 88 pp 1-2

[RATAU report on the Poltava republic-level seminar on the agro-industrial complex and on concluding speech delivered there by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary: "Intensifying and Accelerating the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex"—boldface as published]

[Excerpts] A republic-level seminar on topical questions concerning the development of the agro-industrial complex in the Ukrainian SSR was held in Poltava on 3-4 March. [passage omitted]

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, summed up the results of the seminar.

Our seminar, he said, was businesslike and will undoubtedly be useful. In familiarizing themselves with the achievements of science and advanced experience using the example of Poltava Oblast, its participants exchanged useful views on a wide range of questions connected with restructuring in the agro-industrial complex, with the intensification of all branches of agriculture.

Of course, it is essential to organize trips to Poltava Oblast for leaders of rayons and farms that may become basic in applying and spreading the experience available in this and other oblasts. This work should be jointly organized by the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the oblast-level agro-industrial committees at the convenient time for this purpose.

It is also expedient to organize **such oblast-level seminars** with rayon leaders and, taking into account local conditions, to work out and persistently apply concrete measures to intensify crop growing and stockbreeding and to apply economic management methods. It is highly important to avoid formalism in this undertaking, to show in practice what can and should be done to substantially and quickly increase the output and procurement of produce, and to significantly improve supplies of foodstuffs to the population on this basis. This is particularly important at present, when the party and the country have entered a new stage of restructuring, the stage of its practical realization, and when people are waiting for its practical results.

You know that the task of raising the standards of the people's material and intellectual life has continuously been at the center of the CPSU Central Committee and at the government's attention. In accomplishing this task, certain positive results have been achieved. This was noted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum.

As far as our republic is concerned, in the past 2 years of the 5-year period the average annual overall production of our agriculture increased 7.1 percent, compared with the 11th 5-year period. The production of grain, sugar beets, sunflower seeds, vegetables, and all kinds of stockbreeding produce increased. Compared with the annual average in the 11th 5-year period, the per-capita consumption of meat increased by 4.6 kg, that of milk by 28.4 kg, and that of vegetables by 10 kg.

Also important is the fact that for the first time in many years, the pace of increasing labor productivity exceeded the growth of wages, and the prime costs of products dropped somewhat. Profits increased appreciably. At kolkhozes as a whole they amounted to R6.3 billion, or 1.7 times more than the annual average in the 11th 5-year period.

Yet, the general situation in the republic's agro-industrial complex cannot be regarded as satisfactory. In the first 2 years of the current 5-year period the shortfalls in grain deliveries to the state totaled 2 million tonnes of grain. The plans for the procurement of sunflower seeds, fruit, berries, and the production of sugar were not fulfilled. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes are slow in strengthening the fodder base, in developing stockbreeding, and in increasing the production and procurement of meat and milk. The population's demand for meat and milk products has not been fully met, and this causes many justified complaints. In brief, the problem of foodstuff supplies, particularly supplies of stockbreeding produce, is still a long way from being removed from the agenda.

The first conclusion that our seminar allows us to draw is that to rapidly increase foodstuff resources, resolute measures are necessary to intensify the branches of the agro-industrial complex and to make effective use of the potential created in this field.

In this connection V.V. Shcherbitskiy tackled the ways to increase the grain production. In line with the measures which have been worked out, it is necessary to obtain an overall yield of 51 million tonnes in the republic, or nearly 4.5 million tonnes more than the average yield obtained in the past 2 years and, by the end of the 5-year period, to bring it to 52-54 million tonnes, as provided for by the main guidelines for the country's economic and social development. But even these volumes are insufficient. To meet the republic's needs for food and fodder grain, in the immediate future it is essential to increase the per-hectare yields of grain crops to 35 quintals, as a minimum, as against the 32 quintals in 1987. The increase seems to be small, but we should keep in mind the fact that the 1987 yields were the highest ever.

Naturally enough, such yields do not come by themselves. Additional organizational, managerial, and economic measures are needed, primarily to apply intensive technologies. In this field there are colossal reserves.

Last year each intensive hectare in the republic as a whole yielded an average of 43.5 quintals of winter wheat, or 15.4 quintals more than the usual seedings, while in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast the increase surpassed 19 quintals, and in Kiev, Khmel'nitskiy, Ternopol, and Volyn Oblasts it ranged between 16 and 17 quintals.

Owing to the application of intensive technologies at 2,050 farms, that is, at every fifth farm, the average per-hectare yields of grain crops exceeded 40 quintals. At the same time, there are still many kolkhozes and sovkhozes that have virtually no increased yields from the intensive areas, and have let the outlays made go down the drain.

The main cause of this lies in inertia and lack of initiative on the part of many specialists at kolkhozes, sovkhozes, rayon agro-industrial associations, oblast agro-industrial committees, and even in the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee itself. This is precisely why technological requirements are being grossly violated, and crop rotation and scientifically substantiated farming systems, including the soil protecting, plowless system worked out and applied in Poltava Oblast, are being applied very slowly.

The participants in the seminar were able to see the great effectiveness of the latter system for themselves. There seems to be no need to quote more data to this effect. It has to be applied vigorously and competently, particularly in the so-called risky farming zone.

The next conclusion to be drawn from the seminar is that the stability and high productivity of all farming, including grain growing, is impossible without purposeful and constant efforts to increase soil fertility.

For example, on their steep hillsides the Lohkvitskiy Rayon farms in Poltava Oblast have attained winter wheat yields of 50 quintals per hectare. Apart from applying the method of soil tilling without moldboards, in the last 10 years they tripled the application of organic fertilizers and brought it to 13 tonnes per hectare. On this basis, high yields are also being obtained by the farms of Khristinovskiy Rayon in Cherkassy Oblast, Podvolochisskiy Rayon in Ternopol Oblast, Dunayevskiy Rayon in Khmel'nitskiy Oblast, and others.

But, on the whole, in most oblasts, particularly in the steppe and the forest-steppe zones, organic fertilizers have not met with the proper interest, and in Voroshilovgrad and Crimean Oblasts their application has even been reduced recently.

In this respect the task is unequivocal: Programs to increase soil fertility must be completed as soon as possible at every kolkhoz and sovkhoz, and there must be strict control over compliance with these programs.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy then described the situation that has arisen in the current year.

More than half of the total area under grain crops, he said, lies in the forest-steppe and the forest zones. In those zones there is sufficient moisture in the soil, the resowing of winter crops is virtually not expected, and there is every reason to hope that the plans for grain output in the zones will be overfulfilled and that yields of other crops will be good. In other oblasts, efforts have to be made everywhere to obtain the planned overall yields of grain.

Particular attention must be paid to corn growing. As before, our task is to obtain 10-12 million tonnes of corn grain, or 40-45 quintals per hectare. For this purpose it is essential to follow the example of Khmel'nitskiy, Zakarpatskaya, and Chernovtsy Oblast farms in this work. As a matter of fact, Poltava Oblast farms are steadily increasing their corn yields, and last year they gathered 42 quintals of corn grain per hectare.

Unfortunately, this cannot be said about Zaporozhye, Kharkov, and Nikolayev Oblasts in which corn yields do not exceed 25-30 quintals per hectare. Obkoms and oblast agro-industrial committees must draw conclusions from this fact.

The next task of high importance is to ensure that the output of stockbreeding produce steadily increases on the basis of intensification.

Notwithstanding the measures taken, there have not been serious changes for the better in this field. Moreover, in 1987 the overall stockbreeding output dropped in 14 oblasts, including a 6-10 percent drop in Kirovograd, Odessa and Nikolayev Oblasts. At many farms the overall gains in weight and wool production declined,

milk production remained at the 1986 level, and the indexes of herd reproduction and the maintenance of young stock deteriorated. For many years the branch has been run extensively.

Last year, for example, production of meat per head of the initial number of cattle and pigs dropped by a factor of 1.5 below the scientifically substantiated norms. The situation in dairy farming is not any better. Thus, in Chernigov Oblast the 1987 milk yields from every third cow fell below 2,000 kg [kilograms as published]. The number of such unproductive cows amounts to one-fifth of the milking herds in Sumy, Kirovograd, Donetsk, and a number of other oblasts. The natural question arises: What is the matter?

It goes without saying that the lag in pedigree breeding has made itself felt. But the main cause lies in the shortage of fodder. Judge for yourselves: Expenditure per head for cattle at many kolkhozes and sovkhoses, rayons, and oblasts amounts to 29-30 quintals of fodder units against the minimal norm of 36 quintals, and this difference is even more significant when the fodder lacks protein. In other words, year in, year out the cattle herds are being kept on rations that are close to the starvation level. What sort of intensification can one speak about in such a case?

Some changes for the better took place in fodder production last year. The task of procuring 21 quintals of coarse and juicy fodder units per head of cattle was accomplished. However, this was the republic's average. But when the wintering season began, one-fourth of all kolkhozes and sovkhoses were provided with only 70 percent of all the kinds of fodder needed for livestock.

For this reason an increase in fodder production is now of priority importance. In the current year we have to procure at least 24 quintals of coarse and juicy fodder units per head of livestock (excluding pigs and poultry), or 15 percent more than last year. Frankly speaking, this is not an easy task. But there is no other way out, and this task has to be accomplished.

There is one more lesson to be learned at the present seminar. The seminar has graphically shown that, if we want to have fodder, each farm must have definite persons responsible for this important matter, fodder production has to be given the status of an independent branch, and more fertilizer, equipment, and other resources have to be assigned for lands under fodder crops.

A significant reserve for increasing production and for improving the quality of fodder lies in the better use of natural pasture lands, in expanding lands under perennial grasses, soya beans, rape, and other oil-bearing crops, as well as various grass mixtures, and in the use of waste from processing industries and microbiological synthesis. Last but not least, it is essential to strengthen the fodder storage base much more rapidly.

In many oblasts, big chances to increase the output of stockbreeding produce have been missed because too little attention has been paid to **citizens' subsidiary individual holdings**. For example, can one consider as normal the fact that in Voroshilovgrad, Zaporozhye, and Crimean Oblasts 50 percent of rural homesteads do not keep any livestock? Work in the individual sector is also unsatisfactory in Kherson Oblast.

The need to restore pig breeding farms—first of all units specializing in sows to meet the population's demand for piglets—which were previously groundlessly eliminated has been discussed repeatedly. However, more than 800 kolkhozes and sovkhoses still do not possess their own pig breeding farms. In a number of oblasts the situation is even tending to deteriorate. Whereas in 1981 the proportion of Nikolayev Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhoses lacking pig breeding farms only amounted to 7 percent, this proportion has now risen to 17 percent.

Work on the individual subsidiary holdings of the population must be well organized and systematic, and wide use must be made of the experience of Ternopol Oblast, which was recounted today by Comrade V.Ye. Ostrozhinskiy.

Neither has the development of **subsidiary holdings run by industrial enterprises and organizations** been properly attended to everywhere. Whereas meat sales by these holdings in Cherkassy and Kirovograd Oblasts range between 5 and 8 kg per capita of the population, in Kharkov and Lvov Oblasts they amount only to 1-1.5 kilograms.

Everyone should realize clearly, V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, that it will be impossible to succeed in **sharply increasing the output of stockbreeding produce and in improving the supplies to the population by using accustomed methods**. It is necessary to intensify not only production, but also the entire organizational and technological work in this field.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has drawn up measures to improve the supplies of meat and milk to the population in 1988. To prevent a drop in the consumption level of these food-stuffs everything possible has to be done not only to reach, but also to exceed the targets set for the procurement of produce. These questions should literally be attended to daily to by the obkom first secretaries and rayispolkom chairmen.

In the meantime, the January-February results showed that a number of obkoms and oblispolkoms let this matter drift, and as a result of this the procurement and assignments of milk, meat products, and eggs for supplies to the population have decreased. Stoppages in the supplies of stockbreeding produce to the population

continue to be greatest in Kirovograd, Odessa, and Dnepropetrovsk Oblasts, and those in the supplies of meat, in Voroshilovgrad, Zaporozhye, and Rovno Oblasts.

Verification in the field has shown that there were no grounds whatsoever for such stoppages. The stocks available are simply not being used in a thrifty manner. For example, in January the assignments of meat for supplies to the people of Zaporozhye Oblast were reduced 3 percent, although there were sufficient meat stocks. In addition the oblast fell short of the plan for deliveries to centralized stocks by 2 million eggs, reduced the sales of eggs on the market by 3 million and, at the same time and, without any orders, shipped 5 million eggs beyond its borders. The attitude to this matter—if any—that is assumed by the obkom is incomprehensible.

While accomplishing the tasks set to supply the population with foodstuffs, it is also necessary to look ahead. The calculations made by Gosplan and the State Agro-Industrial Committee show that to appreciably increase the consumption of stockbreeding produce, in the next 5-7 years the republic should raise the production of meat 20-25 percent, and that of milk, 10-15 percent. This is the point from which every oblast has to proceed. The ways to accomplish these tasks already have to be defined now.

Now, about the ways to meet the population's growing needs for vegetables and fruit. The examination of the state of affairs at the recent all-union zonal seminar in Kharkov showed that the situation in accomplishing the task set under the Food Program for potatoes, vegetables, and fruit was under strain, particularly in Khmel-nitskiy, Kiev, and a number of other oblasts, as well as in the republic as a whole. In the fruit and vegetables complex the republic is losing the positions it gained some time before.

You will remember how, some 7 or 8 years ago, we cited Odessa Oblast as an example for organizing, processing, and selling vegetables. However, whatever existed was eliminated under the guise of reforms, and things went, as they say, downhill: The oblast falls short of the plans for the procurement of vegetables, the work of oblast canneries has deteriorated, and the trade network has lost face.

In the past, Comrade A.P. Nochevkin, people used to go to Odessa to learn from the oblast's experience, but now Odessa people themselves would be well advised to go to Donetsk for the same purpose, or to make use of Kharkov Oblast's experience that was recounted today by Comrade V.P. Mysnichenko; the sooner they do so the better, and not only for Odessa Oblast's people.

Comrades, quite a few new problems requiring both a thorough examination and immediate solutions have been posed for the agro-industrial complex by the radical economic reform.

The entire essence of the innovation, as M.S. Gorbachev said at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, consists in the fact that now one must not rely on state charity. One must count primarily on one's own forces, on more effective economic solutions, on the wide application of the achievements of scientific and technological progress, on the high qualifications and competence of cadres, and on the initiative of the working people.

The practical implementation of these directives has become particularly important in view of the fact that next year the entire system of the republic's agro-industrial complex will switch over to full economic accountability and self-financing.

To make the new economic mechanism operate effectively, party committees, administrative organs, agro-industrial committees and rayon associations, farm leaders and specialists have to find new approaches to production organization and management, approaches based on authentic democracy, on the independence and high responsibility of labor collectives.

In the republic there are already 14 agrocombines, 3 agro-associations, 9 agrofirms, and 170 scientific production associations and systems. In a short period of work these new formations have managed to show their undisputed advantages, and today we were convinced of these advantages by the example of the work performed by the "Chuguyevskiy" agro-industrial combine in Kharkov Oblast, the "Kosovshchina" agro-industrial association and the "Prut" agrofirm in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, and the "Grechikha" system in Ternopol Oblast.

But these are only the initial steps. To be carried out, this work calls for the vigorous activity of agro-industrial committees and rayon associations, for comprehension and support on the part of obkoms. In the meantime, many party and economic cadres in Voroshilovgrad, Volyn, Cherkassy, and some other oblasts are too slow in applying new management methods. Moreover, the process of applying these methods frequently meets with resistance on the part of specialists who have become used to disorder, who do not want to accept advanced changes, and who refuse to work in contracted teams. Since these questions cannot be settled by one directive alone, effective measures must be found to overcome this situation. Painstaking and purposeful work is needed here.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has obligated obkoms, oblispolkoms, and the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee to ensure that agro-associations, agrocombines, and agrofirms are created in every oblast in the immediate future.

It is also essential to complete the efforts to create a council of the rayon agro-industrial association in every rayon, presided over by one of the rayon's best farm leaders, and using the apparatus of the rayon agro-industrial association as its working organ.

In this undertaking, it is essential, as they say, to galvanize cadres, to overcome the existing mentality, and to give up excessive precautions. What matters most is to find enterprising and competent people, and to support them on time.

The same applies to something important as **collective, leasing, family, and individual contracting**. Although the proportion of people working on the contracting principle reportedly amounts to 78 percent of the total labor force with the republic's farming and stockbreeding, not everyone has taken full advantage of contracting forms. In Chernigov, Kherson, and Vinnitsa Oblasts these forms have only encompassed two-thirds of the labor force, and family contracting is being inadequately spread.

Besides, there are manifestations of formalism in compliance with the contracts, failures to carry out the accords, and a lack of authentic economic accountability. Slow and timid headway is being made by integral process contracts, wages depending on overall incomes, and control over costs by means of a cheque book. Here, again, everything depends on the initiative of cadres.

The same can be said about the development of **business relations with foreign countries**, and about the creation of joint enterprises. As you know, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted special decisions on this issue. This right has been granted to all farms and enterprises.

But some farms are searching, are literally cutting out their path—and this applies to a number of farms in Rovno, Crimean, Zakarpatskaya, and Lvov Oblasts, while others are waiting for something, sticking to the convenient position of an impartial observer; and the position assumed by still others is also known: Just take it easy and better be careful.

In brief, for the time being the good initiative has not met with wide application. The cause again lies in the lack of suitable enterprising people, in the cadres' reluctance to assume additional responsibility, and frequently also in a negative standpoint taken on the initiative by some party committees.

Here is one more thing. The success of restructuring in the agro-industrial complex greatly **depends on the acceleration of scientific-technological progress**. The present organization of work at many scientific institutions is clearly unsatisfactory.

Even today we had a look at a number of elaborations proposed by scientists. Of course, some of them are interesting. But you will agree this is a long way from the requirements presented to scientists by practice, by life itself. There is a lag in biotechnological research and in economic science. We do not have comprehensive models and technologies whose objective is to make effective use of our resource potential.

Obkoms must take under their control the work performed by the centers created last year to provide scientific services to the agro-industrial complex. For the time being these centers have reduced their activity to formal organizational measures, but the substance remains unchanged.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy touched in particular upon problems concerning the **social development of the countryside**. What we saw in Poltava Oblast yesterday, he said, prompts us to ponder many things; it convincingly showed us the way to settle the complex of rural problems, and showed how many things in this sphere depend on the party committee bureau, on the first secretary, on the chairmen of the oblispolkom and of the oblast agro-industrial committee, and on their personal initiative.

In recent times, a great deal has been done in this sector in Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Kharkov, Odessa, and Sumy Oblasts. But in the republic as a whole, unfortunately, the mass migration of people from villages is continuing, and the number of schoolchildren—the generation of future farmers—is declining.

While taking into account this acute problem, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers last year approved a comprehensive program for social reform in the countryside in the period up to the year 2000.

The instruction was given to work out such programs for oblasts and rayons. All deadlines have already passed, but in Kherson, Khmel'nitskiy, Rovno, and Zakarpatskaya Oblasts the oblast soviets still have not approved these programs. How is this fact to be evaluated, comrade obkom first secretaries and oblast agro-industrial committee chairmen: as underestimation of an important issue, or as a reluctance to hoist a heavy burden onto one's back?

Social reform in the countryside and improvements in the working and living conditions of the kolkhoz farmers and sovkhoz workers are to be regarded by oblast leaders as a paramount political task. After all, the things we are talking about here constitute the human factor, and without invigorating this factor it is impossible to speak in earnest about restructuring in the countryside, in the agro-industrial complex.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a decision on measures to accelerate the development of individual housing construction. The pace of housing construction from the funds provided by the population, both by contracting and by direct labor methods, by the efforts of house owners themselves, has to be hastened in all oblasts. It goes without saying that, to accomplish the tasks set, it is essential to make use of additional sources and to sharply increase the output of local building materials.

Here is the last point. In strengthening the material-technological base of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing units, it is essential to make use of patronage relations between the countryside and the city. These relations are developing vigorously in Donetsk Oblast. In this oblast, for example, patrons built storing facilities for 130,000 tonnes of hay and other kinds of fodder last year. In the last 2 years Kharkov enterprises made 500 "Kharkovchanka" small-size machinery units for farms for the production of combined fodder. Also deserving every support is the work performed by the Krivoy Rog party organization, which was reported here today by Comrade S.A. Stezhko, gorkom first secretary.

The idea that we all should share is: In view of the new management conditions and in the interests of our common cause, it is essential to perfect patronage work, and to build it mainly on the basis of long-term planning, and also without forgetting mutual benefits.

Finally, it is expedient to refer once again to a task that has to be accomplished now: to **preparations for the spring field works**. The campaign must be organized in such a way as to repair and recondition not only sowing and irrigating, but also harvesting equipment by the end of March. Strict control has to be established over fuel and lubricant stocks. The training of machine operating cadres must continue to ensure that machines operate in two shifts.

In connection with this the speaker called attention to the following circumstance. Many farms experience a shortage of machine operating and other cadres from common trades. This is why the instruction has been issued to establish rural vocational schools in every region. But development is slow. For the time being, such schools exist in every second rayon of the republic, and in Rovno, Crmean, and Lvov Oblasts, in every third rayon. Yet, from the example of Reshetilovskiy Rayon, yesterday we ourselves saw that this can be done, and moreover it can be done well.

The current year, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said at the end, is of particular importance for accomplishing the 5-year tasks and the Food Program. Everything we have agreed upon here should be put into effect.

After the seminar Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy had a conversation with obkom secretaries. They examined concrete tasks to implement the decisions of the February (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the directives set forth in the speech delivered at the plenum by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary; some problems concerning organizational party and ideological work and internationalist education; and a number of immediate tasks involving the republic's economic development, including the fulfillment of the cash plan and the plan for commodity turnover, an increase in the production of consumer

goods, intensified resource saving, restructuring in capital construction, and hastening the pace of increasing communal labor productivity.

On the eve of the seminar, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, toured Poltava, inspected projects, and spoke to town dwellers.

At the fluorescent lamp plant named after the Ukraine's Komsomol he inquired about the progress made in the enterprise's technical updating, and about the first results of work under the conditions of self-financing and self-recouping. During the inspection of the shops and at meetings with the workers, engineers, and technicians a need was noted to improve labor organization, including making fuller use of collective labor forms and of economic levers; to apply authentic economic accountability at all levels and in all links; to comply absolutely with contracted obligations; and to ensure the high quality of goods. In switching over to the new system of wages, it is important to strictly observe the principles of social justice and to take into account the opinion of the collective. Every laborer should feel the real advantages of the new management conditions, and personal responsibility for the results of work at the enterprise; he should be imbued with the awareness that the growth of wages directly depends on the rates of increasing labor productivity.

During a conversation in the office of the enterprise party committee, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary inquired how the party organization restructured its work, what new forms and methods had emerged recently, what had been done to enhance democracy in settling key problems concerning the collective's life, to expand glasnost, and to ensure that the Communists and all people are well informed. He pointed out that at present it was important to thoroughly study the materials of the February (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the speech delivered at the plenum by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and to work out a concrete and clear plan for action to implement the plenum directives. Each basic party organization must be in the front line of restructuring, and has to make efforts to raise the activity and initiative of all Communists, and to bring about all changes planned by the party. A responsible duty is to develop competitions for a worthy welcome to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy also familiarized himself with the organization of work at the "Poltavski Varenyky" cooperative coffee shop.

During conversations with city dwellers, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary inquired about problems concerning them, about the performance of public transportation and services, and

answered questions. The attention of gorkom and goripolkom leaders was called to the need to eliminate the existing shortcomings as soon as possible, as well as to take more care of people, of their material and intellectual needs. On his city tour, V.V. Shcherbitskiy was accompanied by F.T. Morgun, Poltava Obkom first secretary.

Scientific

Marchuk Reviews Year's Work of Science Academy
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[TASS report: "Fusion of Science and Education: Annual Session of USSR Academy of Sciences General Assembly"]

[Text] The success of the restructuring launched in the country can be guaranteed to a large extent by sharply increasing the effectiveness of all spheres of fundamental science. The reliability of the foundation on which the country's entire national economy is transferred to an intensive footing will ultimately depend on the efforts of everyone working at the Academy of Sciences.

The session of the USSR Academy of Sciences annual general assembly, which began in Moscow on 15 March, is a major review of the efforts of the many thousands of Soviet scientists in this important work. The report on the USSR Academy of Sciences' tasks in the light of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum's decisions was delivered by G.I. Marchuk, president of the academy.

The present stage of restructuring, the president said, requires new methods and forms of training and continuous retraining of cadres at all levels: from the worker and kolkhoz member to the enterprise leader, the scientist, and the worker in culture, public education, and higher education. In essence, the question is the radical transformation of the entire system of cadre training and education. Science has a special role in this important work.

This process of the closest cooperation between science and education is highly complex and multifaceted. One of those facets, perhaps the most important today, is to unite the scientific research and education processes into a single complex. There is also the development of science at VUZ level and closer ties between VUZ's and scientific institutions of the USSR and union republic academies of sciences, sector academies, and national economic sectors.

Our Academy of Sciences, G.I. Marchuk recalled, has been from the very beginning most closely linked with the country's universities and other leading VUZ's, has supported a high standard of research, and has trained worthy successors. However, the dogmatism of the sixties and one of its consequences—the campaign against

the holding of more than one post by scientists—divided VUZ and academic science. In this context, the Academy of Sciences lost much of its potential for directly selecting capable young people and actively influencing its new cadre intake, the competition for university and leading VUZ main departments became lax, and the recruitment of postgraduates to academy institutions declined sharply. Not only was the scientific link between VUZ's and academy institutions lost, but the scientific standard of VUZ departments and laboratories also declined. Even though the prohibitions have formally been lifted, the problem has remained as urgent as ever.

As a priority step, we proposed that VUZ's be allowed to recruit scientists from the Academy of Sciences system with no restriction on the holding of more than one job—initially at least for special courses, the leadership of seminars, students' diploma projects, and postgraduate dissertations, and for the writing of textbooks and study manuals. At the same time, academy institutions should also recruit higher education teachers for the direction of scientific work. This would be a real two-way link which would make it possible to restore the unity of academy and VUZ science in the development of science in general and in cadre training.

The democratization of public life and the radical economic reform demand clear actions both now and for the future. It is important now, in the run-up to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences stressed, to consider and discuss certain fundamental questions about the role of science in further developing our country and about increasing its contribution to solving economic and social problems. We must also discuss science's role in shaping man as an active participant in all transformations and a working person armed with the new thinking, a comprehensive education, and an in-depth understanding of social development problems.

In this connection, the speaker stressed the need for vigorous research at Academy of Sciences institutes in the sphere of the theory of socialism and restructuring. The tasks of restructuring in the economy and in the political, social, and spiritual spheres of society could not even be raised without theoretical underpinning or an ideological basis, the scientist said.

Today we are right to ask ourselves: Are improvements taking place in this most important area of Soviet scientists' activity? It has to be recognized, G.I. Marchuk stated, that we have done extremely little so far, that only the first, the initial steps have been outlined. It is very important that our historians, philosophers, and literary specialists work more actively to increase the pace of work and treat the problems produced by restructuring as real priorities.

The plenum set historical science extremely responsible tasks. An objective and balanced assessment of the path traveled by the Soviet people and answers to the many complex questions worrying Soviet people were provided in M.S. Gorbachev's report on the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The USSR Academy of Sciences must now organize the further thorough study of these problems.

Problems of history and the present day are among the priorities in this respect. Glasnost, the lifting of the taboos existing in our society and in science, and the filling in of the "blank spots" in our past have generated a colossal upsurge of interest in history, first and foremost, in our country's history and the 70 years of socialist building in our country.

The nation's consciousness has been inundated with vast streams of new facts, assessments, impressions, and eyewitness accounts. Literature, current affairs journalism, cinema, and the theater are taking part increasingly boldly in this process. However, the voice of our scientists is hardly audible in this mighty choir. Both academic historical journals and the Nauka publishing house are restructuring themselves intolerably slowly on these questions. Indeed, the development of historical criticism should be a priority today. Marxist-Leninist historical science must be aware of its responsibility for the correct perception of history by our entire society.

In the philosophical sciences today, the priority is the problem of molding man's personality and the new thinking. One of the main tasks here is to ensure that the characteristics and objective laws of the life and development of the individual in the collective and in society are considered in a really comprehensive, integrated way. The recent all-union conference on the comprehensive study of man showed that this is no easy task. The main obstacle is the lack of integrated ideas on the subject of research. It is necessary to make progress in solving this task not only by increasing the sum of knowledge in various spheres: There must also be a dramatic advance in the methodology of interdisciplinary research. It is equally important to raise the professional competence of scientists in the study of social, psychological, and ergonomic practice. It is particularly important to establish closer ties between the human sciences and the urgent problems of education, training, and health care.

There have been positive changes in the sphere of economic science. Economic scientists are studying large-scale key questions to do with radical economic reform, forecasting and modeling the socioeconomic development of the USSR and its regions, structural restructuring of the national economy, increasing the people's well-being, and current theoretical and methodological problems.

However, the scale of those changes is still below the scale of the tasks thrown up by implementation of the radical economic reform. Particular attention must now be given to sociological research, which in the past was treated with disdain. It must become the scientific basis for defining social development trends and making new political and socioeconomic decisions.

After dwelling on the role of science in international relations, the speaker emphasized that scientists have made their contribution to the development of the new political thinking and the scientific perception of current realities. But the importance of these problems will continue to grow. That is why it is proposed that this present session of the general assembly examine the question of creating a new department of the world economy and international relations within the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The president of the USSR Academy of Sciences then commented briefly on the year's outstanding results in the natural sciences. Scientific and technical progress in all sectors of the national economy, he stressed, are inextricably linked with fundamental scientific research, which is the source of the latest technologies, promising materials, and fundamentally new technical solutions. All this places a tremendous responsibility on fundamental academic science. For us the main task of restructuring is to achieve the highest scientific standard and the leading position in the priority areas of fundamental science, as well as to ensure that research in the natural and technical sciences is redirected toward the needs of retooling the production sphere.

The fundamental research programs developed and approved by the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its departments are the most important device for resolving those tasks. These programs are designed to unite the activity of the scientific collectives of the USSR Academy of Sciences, union republic academies of sciences, higher education, and part of sector-based science. Much of the most important work which is supposed to be included in the programs is in fact already in hand, and significant scientific results have already been achieved in a whole number of areas. In mathematics, for example, an all-out attack has been mounted in the area of nonlinear tasks, which play a most important role not only in the sphere of mathematics proper but also in its application to physics and mechanics.

A brilliant scientific result of the past year was the discovery in a number of countries of the phenomenon of superconductivity at comparatively high temperatures. A whole series of our institutes are working actively in this area, and first-class results have already been achieved. A program of work has been carried out which has made it possible to produce superconductive thin film and to synthesize high quality crystal superconductors.

Unique scientific results were achieved last year in the sphere of astronomy. A series of observations of a supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud made it possible to show that the supernova phenomenon is caused by the explosion of a blue supergiant, which led to a reappraisal of the theoretical models of supernova eruptions and sheds new light on problems in cosmology.

The jubilee year of the 30th anniversary of the launching of the world's first satellite, a Soviet satellite, has been marked by major new achievements in the study and development of space. One of those achievements was the flight by Yuriy Romanenko, the longest manned flight in history.

The year's major event in the sphere of information technology and computing was the successful completion of state tests on two supercomputers developed by academy institutes, computers which have now gone into production. The highlight in the sphere of chemical sciences is the work on the creation of ferromagnetic polymers. Scientists, in conjunction with industrial workers, created new construction materials and casings based on "hybrid" polymer structures which make it possible to approximately double durability at high temperatures. Important scientific results have been achieved in immunology, biochemistry, biotechnology, and genetic engineering.

In the earth sciences, a package of research has been completed in the creation of a theoretical model of the bloc structure of the earth's crust and its movements, which has made it possible to describe energy concentration zones and to forecast earthquakes on the basis of statistical analysis. As a result, a chart has been produced showing potential earthquake zones in parts of the Caucasus and seismically active zones in the Far East.

This series of major discoveries and results could have been far more considerable, the speaker said in conclusion, had the shortcomings existing in our country in development of the material base of research, scientific instrument making, and material and technical supply been overcome. But it is also important to overcome our "internal" problems: the low mobility of academy organizational structures, lack of dynamism in response to newly emerging scientific trends, phenomena of stagnation in institutes' cadre policy, bureaucracy, and inflexibility of the management apparatus.

Reviews of the main results of scientific development in various areas of knowledge last year were given by vice-presidents of the academy and leaders of sections of the USSR Academy of Sciences presidium. There was also a report on the academy presidium's work in the period under review.

The annual session of the Academy of Sciences general assembly continues.

'Mir' Crew Completes Third Month in Orbit
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[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The crew of the space research complex Mir (peace), Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, have wound up their third month in orbit.

In the past days, the Soviet cosmonauts carried out maintenance of onboard systems in the basic module and other equipment.

In keeping with a programme of technological experiments, they conducted a series of tests on determining the effectiveness of identifying stars using new optical instruments.

In fulfilling the plan of fitting out the station with additional equipment, the crew are checking a new photo-telegraph system intended for transmitting scientific and technical data to the manned complex.

Using the equipment installed on the outer surface of the station, the cosmonauts are continuing experiments on studying the distribution of micro-meteorites in near-earth space. Information on the course of experiments is being sent to ground control via telemetric channels.

Mission Control Centre, in the first communications session this morning, congratulated Manarov on his birthday. The flight engineer turned 37.

In the evening, the cosmonauts will talk with their relatives and friends.

According to results of medical check-ups and reports from orbit, Titov and Manarov are in good health.